



DESTABILIZING RACIAL HARMONY: HYBRIDITY, NATIONALITY, AND SPATIALITY IN THE LAW AND CULTURAL PRODUCTION OF MANCHUKUO

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MANCHUKUO

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Based on archival research of law, history, literature, and film, my dissertation adopts an interdisciplinary and comparative approach to examine the representations and positioning of “foreigners” in both literary and visual texts, including films, produced in the 1930s and 1940s in Japanese-occupied Manchuria by writers from Mainland China, Taiwan, Korea, and Japan. My central concern in this study is to show how non-colonizers such as Russians, who were perceived as racially white but were not colonizers, and the offspring of interracial marriages between Chinese and Russians, (Taiwanese) Chinese, and Koreans in Manchukuo simultaneously mapped out and destabilized the boundaries of race and nationality within the processes of nation-building and (de)colonization.

This study draws upon historiography, narratology, reader-response criticisms, and various literary and cultural theories to examine one of the central concerns: the use of language in narrative and (oral) history; the systems of signs are not only a primary and powerful means to forge racial, hybrid, and national identities; they are also the very location where boundary making and crossing are simultaneously constituted and deconstructed. The flux of asymmetrical but interrelated racial relations reifies to some degree cultural agents’ changing ideas of race and racial thinking. Yet the employment of their diverse modes of rhetoric and

trope to describe changing ideas of race and racial thinking simultaneously yields unexpected disruptive effects on the essentialization and centralization of nationality, so that the construction and accumulation of national capital are hampered by the same processes of articulation in writing, however inconsiderable and limited the articulations are. Cultural agents' social imagination and creative modes of representing and thinking about boundaries of race and ideas of the social are not strictly confined to building nationality and homogenization and stabilization of space, but rather, they inscribe the possibility of deterritorialization, as well as diverse and discursive historical contingencies that deconstruct race and nationality.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

InYoung Bong studied Chinese language and literature and received a B.A. from Chungbuk National University in South Korea in 1994. She went to China for her graduate study and earned her M.A. in Modern Chinese Literature at Beijing Normal University in 1999. She came to Cornell University to pursue graduate studies in the fall of 2002. She earned her M.A. in East Asian Literature in the Department of Asian Studies at Cornell in 2004 and completed her Ph.D. dissertation in 2010.

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INTRODUCTION:
THE PROBLEMATIC NATURE OF MANCHUKUO'S CONSTITUTION OF
POPULATION: WHITE RUSSIANS, RACIAL HYBRIDITY, AND
COLONIZED ASIANS

Racism is a frame of cognition that views the differences in skin color as something meaningful, whereas the ideology of the Japanese imperial system (*tenno sei*) imparts meaning to the differences of nations as defined by bloodlines, whose system is based on the fictive ideal of “*hansei ikkei*,” meaning the permanent continuity of one single imperial line.

Japanese imperialism has in common with British imperialism its policy of presenting nationalism based on bloodlines and justifying their colonial rule through it, instead of [basing their colonial rule on] racism.

In [Japan's] relation to other ethnic groups [in the colonies], language was used as a tool for integration, [while] bloodlines (blood descent) functioned as the exclusionary principle.

– Komagome Takeshi¹

Manchukuo, the State of Manchuria, was established in what is now Northeastern China in March, 1932.² The newly established government trumpeted the “Harmony of Five Races” (*wuzu xiehe, gozoku kyōwa*), long thought to be the Han, the Japanese, Koreans, Manchus, and Mongolians, as a political slogan and national founding

¹Komagome Takeshi, *Shokuminchi teikoku nihon no bunka tōgō* (Cultural integration of the Japanese colonial empire) (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1996), 358, 377, 59.

My translation of the quotations at the beginning is based on the Korean version of the book translated by Oh Sōng Chōl, et al. (Seoul: Yōksa pipyōngsa, 2008) (441, 461, 85), but I also referred to the original Japanese version.

²Manchukuo, or Manchoukuo is commonly used as the English name of the State, but the government argues that the correct English name of the State is “Manchoukuo or The State of Manchuria” in *Bulletin Extra*. For more detailed source information, see Dan Shao, *Ethnicity in Empire and Nation: Manchus, Manzhouguo, and Manchuria 1911-1952* (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California, Santa Barbara, 2002), 1. Mainland Chinese people always add the word “*wei*,” meaning an illegitimate, puppet regime, when referring to Manchukuo. However, I do not follow this convention in my dissertation and I have simply translated it into Manchukuo as I deal with any sources with the word; it existed as a political entity in the space of ‘Manchuria’ at that time, regardless of the Chinese rejection of it.

ideology.³ In Pu Yi's (1906-1967) presidential inauguration speech, Pu, the Chief Executive of Manchukuo, proclaimed that morality and benevolence were the cornerstone of the new state which could eliminate racial differences, a cause of international as well as domestic conflicts:

Humans must value morality; when there are ethnic (*zhongzu*) differences, if one ethnic group dishonors other groups yet honors itself, then as a consequence, morality will be shaken. Humans must value benevolence (*ren' ai*); when there are international conflicts, if one nation harms others yet benefits itself, then as a consequence, benevolence will wane. Today, my nation is established, taking morality and benevolence as a pivot, in order to eliminate ethnic differences and international struggles. Thus, a paradise of the Kingly Way (*wangdaoletu, ōdōrakudo*) will be apparent from diverse facts.⁴

Resorting to a spiritual view of ruling as a means to instill morality and benevolence into the minds of its nationals, one of the core ideas in Confucian thought, this speech overtly claims that the foundational principle of the state is drawn from Confucian ideology to realize its ideal for ruling subjects; racial conflicts or the lack of them are considered to be a direct source of a state's rise and fall. The new state is fundamentally based upon a sociopolitical postulation that the eradication of racial difference, a potential major source of racial tension and friction, would ideally ensure equality among races. However, without defining the "five races," the subjects

³This term has usually been translated as "the harmony of the 'five races' " (Louise Young in *Japan's Total Empire: Manchuria and the Culture of Wartime Imperialism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998)), or as "the harmony of the 'five ethnic groups' " (Dan Shao in *Ethnicity in Empire and Nation: Manchus, Manzhouguo, and Manchuria 1911-1952* (University of California, Santa Barbara, Ph.D. Dissertation, 2002)). The term "harmony" can be translated better as "harmonization" in view of the changing and shaping processes of racial formation by the government and other social and cultural organizations and agencies and their deliberate manipulation. However, since their translation of "harmony" is already known, I have followed it. As for the choice of translating into 'race' or 'ethnicity,' I have chosen 'race' because it highlights the interracial and national relationships among the "five races" and Russians, an ambiguous category yet one marked by visible physical characteristics. Translating into 'ethnicity' shifts the focus onto internal ethnic relationships within the "five races." Regarding the notion of race, nation, and ethnic group and their relationships to the state, see Immanuel Wallerstein, "The Construction of Peoplehood: Racism, Nationalism, Ethnicity," in *Race, Nation, Class: Ambiguous Identities*, ed. Etienne Balibar and Immanuel Wallerstein (London, New York: Verso, 1991), 77, 83.

⁴Pu Yi, "Jiangu xuanyan" (Declaration of the establishment of Manchukuo), *Shengjing shibao* (Shengjing Times), March 12, 1932.

constituting the state specifically, the speech proposes their harmony as a political aspiration and vision for the new nation, free of racial division and discrimination. The very silence and uncertainty as to who the subjects of the state are reveal an important way in which Manchukuo operated a multi-racial society: the state devoted particular attention to race in discourse and practice.

I will take Pu's inauguration speech which does not define "the five races" as a starting point to inquire into the problematic yet distinctive nature of Manchukuo's constitution of statehood, marked as the existence of a white, stateless people and colonized Asian immigrants with dual nationalities and also, in part, stateless. The existence of White Russians, who fled the Russian Revolution of 1917 and migrated into Manchuria as well as into other parts of China like Shanghai, exemplifies one of the chief characteristics of Manchukuo's racial composition, together with the offspring of interracial marriage between Russians and the Chinese. The Russians were initially included as one of the "five races" and then excluded from the category, a fact which I will address in chapter one in detail. Up until now, most scholars, except for Olga Bakich, have hardly questioned the exclusions of Russians from the existing category of the "five races."⁵ Although they took up a very small portion of the whole population, they were often visibly represented as one of major ethnic groups in fields of cultural production such as print media, literature, and film.⁶ Like the Russians, Taiwanese and Koreans, who were colonized by the Japanese, were exiled or migrated to Manchuria for myriad reasons after Japan's annexation of Taiwan and Korea in 1895 and 1910, respectively, or even before that time. In the case of the Taiwanese,

⁵Olga Bakich argues that initially, immigrant Russians were regarded as one of the "five races" by the Japanese; however, they were blackened out from posters that had included Russians as one of the "five races" starting in March 1932 and then disappeared from the posters altogether.

Olga Bakich, "Emigré Identity: The Case of Harbin," *The South Atlantic Quarterly* 99:1 (Winter 2000): 62.

⁶*The New Youth* shows that the total population of Manchukuo in 1939 was 34, 920, 000, and there were 70, 000 Russians. *Xin qingnian* (The new youth), vol.84 (1939): 13.

their social status was similar to that of the colonized Koreans and they directly migrated to Manchuria or came via Japan and Korea. Together, White Russians, Koreans, and the Chinese/Taiwanese are considered and classified as non-colonizers, and social and racial formations among non-colonizers represented in the field of cultural production are the central object of this study.⁷

What is peculiar about the White Russians' racial and social status in Manchukuo is that despite the Japanese and the Chinese perception and definition of them as racially white, their stateless and marginalized social status in Manchukuo challenges dominant narratives on colonial social relations. (Post) colonial studies have characterized colonial social relations as white supremacy, primarily based on uneven relationships between whites and natives, though Ann Stoler pays close attention to the poor whites in the Southeast Asian colonies who were shifted constantly from included to excluded in the category of nationals according to their cultural competence.⁸ In addition, the existence of the Taiwanese and immigrant Koreans in Manchukuo exemplifies how non-colonizers, who had racial and cultural proximity in terms of physical features and a cultural affinity with Confucianism, mapped out racial and national boundaries on their own and outside the purview of state imposition of racial hierarchy. Thus, the multiethnic nature of the state presents an uncommon cartography of colonial social relations in that the Russians were

⁷I basically challenge the binary opposition between the colonizer and the colonized, but what I mean here by non-colonizers only reflects the previous perception and classification of those people. Mariko Asano Tamanoi offers information on racial classifications of people who lived in Manchuria from the Japanese point of view. "Knowledge, Power, and Racial Classification," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 59. 2 (May 2000):248-276. However, the author notes that the exclusion and inclusion of Koreans in the category of natives requires further study (256). Barbara J. Brooks deals with this issue before the Manchurian Incident of 1931 and notes that Japanese diplomats had changing views about inclusion and exclusion of Koreans as Japanese subjects, depending on their relation to China and China's interest for Japan. However, this study is limited to Japanese individuals' approaches to the Korean problem in Manchuria. See "Peopling the Japanese Empire: The Koreans in Manchuria and the Rhetoric of Inclusion," *Japan's Competing Modernity: Issues in Culture and Democracy 1900-1930*, ed. Sharon A. Minichiello (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1998), 25-44.

⁸Ann Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002).

neither white colonizers nor the majority in Manchukuo. The Russians' particular social status as stateless exiles offers an important case in which to probe the Chinese and the Japanese positioning of white and perceptions of white supremacy and to do so in ways that have been hitherto unexplored in (post)colonial studies. Focusing on non-colonizers, I am particularly concerned with the ways in which representations and narrations of colonial experiences in the field of cultural production intrinsically inscribe the possibility for transgressing those boundaries, while simultaneously capturing both constituent and deconstructive modes of narration for the formation of national subjects and multiple social identities without respect to any given nationalities. This perspective will serve as a launching point for significant revelations about inherently conflicting voices of social lives, articulated and circulated by non-colonizers from the colonial past, which call for much fuller examinations of what and how two opposing modes of representation deeply involve other, larger topics concerning (de)colonization and (de)constructions of nationality. At the same time, however, this approach is crucially important for re-evaluating the significance of colonial legacies beyond the prevailing paradigms of modernity and nation formation, as well as the emergence and spread of nationalism in the historiography of colonialism.

Hybridity, Empire, and Manchukuo as Spaces of Social and Cultural Lability and Flux

Along with this line of reasoning, the examination of representations of (racial) hybridity in Manchukuo is another major focal point of the study. Hybridity refers to the offspring of interracial marriage between the Chinese and Russians and to discourse on mixing things in literature and oral history.⁹ Non-colonizers' encounters

⁹Hybridity is conceptualized in post-colonial studies. It "commonly refers to the creation of new transcultural forms within the contact zone produced by colonization," and hybridization appears in the realms of race, culture, and linguistics, and politics. Bill Ashcraft, ed. *Key Concepts in Post-Colonial*

with other peoples and cultures were expressed in the tropes of mixing blood or water and grains in the colonized subjects' social imagination. Not only do they metonymically embody the impurity of racial origins, but they also suggest the potential for a counter-discourse that challenges the normality of pure blood, conversely demystifying the putative ideal of racial unity. In this regard, the observation on the counteractive aspects within the discourse of hybridity will expand on the scope of the concept and add significance to the current body of knowledge concerning its theoretical formulations in post-colonial studies that mostly feature British imperialism. Post-colonial studies have developed the concept of hybridity based on the racial division between colonizer and colonized.¹⁰ Robert Young reminds us of its negative connotation on account of its origination in colonial racism.¹¹ Homi Bhabha formulates this concept in terms of the cultural contact between the colonizer and the colonized and their interdependence in the formation of identities through mimicry and ambivalence.¹² In the Southeast Asian context, Ann Stoler focuses on

Studies (London, New York: Routledge, 1998), 118. Huangshi's story describes a half-Taiwan Chinese and half-Japanese boy, whose racial and national identity becomes ambiguous because of his Taiwanese mother's marriage to a Taiwanese man. Before this event, he identified himself with his Japanese father who is in Japan. Huangshi Baotao, "Ganqing" (A feeling), in *Taiwan wenxueji 1, riwen zuopin xuanji 1*, (Anthology of Taiwanese literature 1, works written in Japanese), trans. Ye Shitao (Taipei: Chunhui chubanshe, 1996), 184- 194. Instead of this story, I examine the trope of mixing grains that the Taiwanese used in Manchuria in the 1930s and 1940s.

¹⁰Concerning the problems of the word "post," see Anne McClintock, "The Angel of Progress: Pitfalls of the Term 'Post-Colonialism,'" *Social Text* 31/32 (Summer 1992): 84-92. Ella Shohat, "Notes on the Post-Colonial," *Social Text* 31/32 (Summer 1992): 99-113. Chungmoo Choi points out neither study mentions the colonies of Japan: Korea, Taiwan, Manchuria, Okinawa, and the South Pacific islands. See, Chungmoo Choi, "The Discourse of Decolonization and Popular Memory: South Korea," *Positions* 1(1) (Spring 1993): 100. Stuart Hall introduces the concept of hybridity and deals with Caribbean hybridity in terms of its past and its representation of myth and narrative. See "Cultural Identity and Cinematic Representation," *Framework* 36 (Coventry, England: University of Warwick Arts Federation, 1989), 68-81.

¹¹Robert J.C. Young, *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture, and Race* (London, New York: Routledge, 1995).

¹²Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London, New York: Routledge, 1994). However, Bart Moore-Gilbert raises a question about whether mimicry and hybridization can lead to actual, political resistance and form a counter-discourse and resisting subjects in terms of agency. See, Bart Moore-Gilbert, *Postcolonial Theory: Contexts, Practices, Politics* (London, New York: Verso, 1997), 131-149. Mikhail Bakhtin discusses the tendency of hybridization in language. *The Dialogic Imagination*, trans. Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist (Austin: University of Texas, 1981). Also see, Nikos

racial hybridity (mixed-bloods) and interracial relationships between natives and Europeans in colonial Southeast Asia. She investigates how colonial power continuously produces racial categories with certain qualifications that exclude colonial subjects in order not to bestow full citizenship on them.¹³

Referring back to Komagome's statement quoted at the beginning of the introduction about the utilization of nationalism based on imperial pedigree, his characterization of the principle of blood descent as the quintessence of Japanese imperialism is drawn only from his observation of the Japanese intellectuals' perceptions of what it means to be of Japanese blood descent. Although Komagome attempts to identify bloodline-centered Japanese nationalism as one of cardinal attributes of Japanese imperialism, a factor commonly found also in British imperialism, racism and nationalism are bound together inseparably in an intertwined continuum that exerts certain effects on racial and social formations within the processes of nation and empire building.¹⁴ What essentially is occluded here are the workings of nationalism and racism and racial thinking in empire and colony; even if the Japanese intellectuals adopted such a strategy that separates nationalism from racism, there must have been articulations of the ideas of race and racism that further featured in correlative workings of nationalism and racism. In light of this,

Papastergiadis, *The Turbulence of Migration: Globalization, Deterritorialization, and Hybridity* (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 2000).

¹³Ann Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002).

¹⁴However, it is commonly believed that the policies of assimilation (*dōka*) and imperialization or Japanization (*kominka*) of Japan's colonial subjects are the major characteristics of Japanese imperialism, which are contrasted with British imperialism which stresses its differentiation from the colonized. Ramon H. Myers and Mark R. Peattie ed., *The Japanese Colonial Empire, 1895-1945* (Princeton: Princeton University, 1984), 3-52, and *The Japanese Wartime Empire, 1931-1945* (Princeton: Princeton University, 1996). Myers makes a comparison between Japanese imperialism and British imperialism in terms of economic structure. Ibid., 136-140. For a critical review of the notion of "assimilation" see, Komagome, *Shokuminchi teikoku nihon no bunka tōgō*, trans. Oh Sōng Chōl, et al. (Seoul: Yōksa pipyōngsa, 2008), 27-42.

Komakome's idea that bloodline-centered nationalism serves as the exclusionary principle seems to be a primary sticking point of the argument.¹⁵

My central concern with respect to racial hybridity is to look into Chinese parameters of racial formation in their relation to Russians, who are perceived as racially white but not as colonizers in Manchukuo.¹⁶ Contrary to the operation of nationalism separate from racism in Japanese imperialism as observed by Komagome, cultural agents from Manchukuo never conceived of and expressed the ideas of race and nationality without separating them from each when they were engaged in cultural production. Rather than pinpointing a dominant mode of intellectual thinking and the exclusive functions of the ideology of blood descent against the colonized in the Japanese empire, I intend to show heterogeneous dynamics of identity formation in which racial hybrids and immigrants' relational positionality are at once associated with and dissociated from the process of nation building; their positionality is integrated within racial and national boundaries, yet at the same time, it can be divorced from them. I will capture inevitable, relational tensions between logics of inclusion and exclusion and a new mode of thinking that resists such binary logics for nation formation. This mode of thinking expresses diverse notions of race and nationality in discourse which is detached from the existing racial and national boundaries, thereby bring forward the emergence of fluid and multiple subjectivities.

In the past decade, a few scholars in North America have examined Manchukuo as an independent category of research in history, sociology, and literature and have attempted to locate the case of Manchukuo in broad contexts of the current

¹⁵Komagome views the national integration as a total concept encompassing all levels of integrations and examines what role education, including language, played in the processes of cultural integration. Ibid., 18-19.

¹⁶Emma Jinhua Teng discusses a Chinese intellectual's racial perceptions of Russians in the 1920s. Emma Jinhua Teng, "Eurasian Hybridity in Chinese Utopian Visions: From 'One World' to 'A Society Based on Beauty' and Beyond," *Positions* 14. 1 (Spring 2006):131-163. In short, their strong physicality was affirmed and valorized in order to ameliorate the weak Chinese body. I discuss this article further in chapter two of my dissertation.

scholarship on nationalism, capitalism, and imperialism. By critically going over some of the representative works in these fields, I point to not only their scholarly achievements but also their limitations and important study questions to be pursued further. In *Sovereignty and Authenticity: Manchukuo and the East Asian Modern*, Prasenjit Duara considers Manchukuo as a nation or nation-state and explores representations and politics of authenticity in the discourse of modernity and civilization in the formations of identity and nation. Duara's conceptualization of the East Asian modern reflects the ways in which he situates Manchukuo, whose sovereignty is built on its claims to authenticity, in inseparable interactions between regional and global actors, tradition and modernity, and nationalism and imperialism. According to Duara, Manchukuo was a place where the global discourse of modernity was locally converted and transformed to form regional and national authenticity, characterized as "the East Asian modern." "[It] is a regional mediation of the global circulation of the practices and discourses of the modern."¹⁷ With respect to imperialism, he defines Manchukuo as a client-state and a case of the emergence of "new imperialism," to use his term.¹⁸ This new form of imperialism is substantially different from that of the theories of neocolonialism. The former "occasionally entailed a separation of its economic and military-political dimensions" and had a "tendency to form a regional or (geographically dispersed) bloc formation, promoting economic autarky as a means for the imperial power to gain global supremacy or advantage."¹⁹ However, the latter still emphasized the metropole's exploitation of subordinate states and their underdevelopment.²⁰

¹⁷Prasenjit Duara, *Sovereignty and Authenticity: Manchukuo and the East Asian Modern* (Lanham: Maryland, Roman & Littlefield Publishers, INC, 2003), 2.

¹⁸Prasenjit Duara, "Nationalism, Imperialism, Federalism, and the Example of Manchukuo: A Response to Anthony Pagden," *Common Knowledge* 12.1 (2006): 48.

¹⁹Ibid., 48.

²⁰Ibid., 48. However, Peter Duus points out that the Japanese empire did not intend to develop the colonies to the level of autarky, though it promoted their industrialization and economic development,

However, the concept of the East Asian modern which is so essential to Duara's research is still very vague, though he contends that "moral suasion" is an important prerequisite of the East Asian model and the Manchukuo people's experience of it corresponds to that of the colonized in Japan, Korea, and China.²¹ A fundamentally implicit yet major corollary of this argument is that different governing technologies implemented in the Japanese Empire and the social and historical specifics of the colonies are generalized to a great extent and conveniently converged to form a congregating model whose connotations in fact can neither be consistent nor homogenous in terms of narrating the people's very experience of the moral suasion. Even more importantly, in Duara's analysis of formations of nation and identity, basically little or no consideration is given to the nature of the constitution of the people and racial factors despite his considerable focus on the issue of sovereignty. Because of the multiethnic and multicultural configurations of Manchukuo and their importance in such a heterogeneous society's dynamic operation, these racial factors deserve much attention. Nonetheless, in Duara's research, modernity and imperialism are thus construed and constituted as something completely immune to the system of racial division and the status of statelessness in his theoretical schema of Manchukuo. He writes: "it [culture or cultural unity] was a means of dis-embedding the project of national homogenization from race and its association with imperialism."²² Moreover, Duara extends this logic further to his discussion of sovereignty. For Duara, sovereignty merely implies an entity that makes a nation legitimate through diverse technologies without relying on the heterogeneous groups of people who constitute that nation to create authenticity, and Manchukuo was a client-state practicing new imperialism without any respect to race.

Peter Duus, et al., *The Japanese Wartime Empire, 1931-1945* (Princeton: Princeton University, 1996), 27, 33.

²¹Duara, *Sovereignty and Authenticity*, 250.

²²*Ibid.*, 17.

Drawing upon the roles and functions of capitalism played out in the nexus of colonialism and nationalism in the making of Manchukuo, Hyun Ok Park's study, *Two Dreams in One Bed: Empire, Social Life, and the Origins of the North Korean Revolution in Manchuria*, addresses how the operation and practices of capitalism in Manchukuo are linked to global capitalism by particularly concentrating on how land, a commodity, mediates the formation of the social within the larger capitalist system. Park argues that previous studies on nationalism and colonialism, represented by Anderson's "imagined community" and subaltern studies, by and large, ignore the material reality of economic and social relations in everyday lives that are formed by social agents within a tense relationship between nationalism and capitalism, two entities which in fact are mutually constitutive. In this theoretical layout, Park takes as one of her focal points the changing social status of immigrant Koreans and their uneven social relations with the Chinese majority. She fleshes out a largely unknown, shadowy history of the anti-Minsaengdan (Minshengtuan in Chinese) struggle from 1932-1937, giving an account of the conflict between Chinese nationalism and Korean nationalism that eventually erupted into irresolvable racial conflicts. The conflicts derived from the CCP's aim to seizure complete control of the anti-Japanese movement. This anti-Minsaengdan struggle is a typical example of how Koreans, including communists, were ruthlessly suppressed by Chinese communists who argued that the Koreans' goal of self-rule in Manchuria ran counter to the formation of homogenous Chinese nation-states comprised of other ethnic-minorities to be assimilated. Therefore, Park argues, the Koreans were quelled by the Han Chinese majority and even tragically purged despite their common goals to realize an anti-capitalist society and counter Japanese colonialist agendas, demonstrating that, in the long run, Chinese nationalism prevailed over socialist internationalism.²³

²³Hyun Ok Park, *Two Dreams in One Bed: Empire, Social Life, and the Origins of the North Korean*

Park's particular focus on the roles of capitalism in the formation of colonial social life is a methodological breakthrough in the studies of nationalism and colonialism and provides a new perspective for elucidating the significance of the Korean diaspora in Manchuria and its sociopolitical impacts upon the establishment of North Korea. Nonetheless, her discussion of sovereignty is misleading and thus it has a very constricted meaning in relation to land or capital put into use and circulated in real or fictitious form. Like Duara's use of the term sovereignty that lacks an examination of the constitution of sovereign subjects, Park employs this concept in her discussion of Kim Man Sun's "'Ijung gukchŏk" (Dual Nationalities) in her epilogue as well as in other parts of her book to denote personal property and material possessions. This concept specifically pertains to a nation-state's power to govern its people, and thus cannot be applied to an owner's concern about land and material belongings.²⁴ Along with this problematic use of the term, Park's discussion of capital is far from exhaustive in that she has addressed capital only in a material sense, neglecting to consider the cultural, symbolic capital that also has similar or equal value as capital and whose values and functions often have a much greater impact upon social formation than material capital does. Moreover, despite Park's choice of diverse source materials for research, including two literary works, An Su Gil's *Bukkando* (Northern Jiandao) in chapter one and Kim's "Dual Nationalites," her study inherently rules out any potential for conceiving new social relations that can be creatively imagined in the field of cultural production as an alternative to overcome the capitalist mode of production. Just as social relations are formed with men's specific use of land and labor under certain material and institutional conditions in

Revolution in Manchuria (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2005), 1-23, 189-230. Shiga Masharu also addresses this incident. Shiga Masharu, *Minzoku mondai to kokkyō <kannihonkai>no mukō gishi* (Nation problem and border: a shore across the Northwest Pacific Region) (Tokyo: Kenbun shuppansha, 1994), 137-182.

²⁴This aspect is discussed in detail in chapter six.

reality, the possibility and the meaning of the social can be created also in the very process of men's interactions with the environment in which they live in a way that cannot be entirely subsumed within the discourse and practice of capitalism and nationalism in literature. In this, the notions of land and labor can be freshly perceived, thereby anticipating a new mode of social life and an ecological vision that can resist the commodification and homogenization of space and social relations.²⁵

Veering off slightly from history to culture, though the two are connected to each other, in the following section I review two representative studies that particularly deal with the culture and literature of Manchukuo. By defining Japanese imperialism as total imperialism, Louise Young, in *Japan's Total Empire: Manchuria and the Culture of Wartime Imperialism*, comprehensively examines how (human) resources and multiple sectors of Japanese domestic society were mobilized to effectively carry out total war and build total empire. In order to identify Manchukuo's relationship with Japan, she differentiates imperialism from empire; while imperialism refers to the processes of empire building, empire refers to the entity built by the structures that (re)produce dominance.²⁶ In this formulation, Manchukuo functions as a bridge to connect and affect people's lives in the metropolis and as a field for various experiments where Japanese intellectuals' political dreams and ideals were tested and practiced, even if they were not fully attainable. What is problematic in her formulation is that Manchukuo is solely seen from the perspective of Japan and the formulation does not refer to other colonial subjects even within the metropolis and the colonies. The following passage is the best example demonstrating the author's

²⁵Stoler and Frederick Cooper correctly point out what anthropological approaches to colonialism lack is the examination of processes by which categories themselves were shaped, while their major focus lies in the effects of colonial rule on contemporary people. Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler, eds. *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1997), 15. Their critique is still applicable to Park's fundamental approach to capitalism, which rarely questions how the different ideas of land, labor, and capital(ism), etc., were perceived and actualized in both theory and practice.

²⁶Young, *Japan's Total Empire*, 11.

scholarly stance toward the relationship between colonies and metropolises and the roles the colonized played in the making of empire. She writes:

Neither Chinese nor Koreans in Manchuria had a channel through which they could project their power back to metropolitan Japan, no means by which they could write themselves fully into the narratives of Japanese imperialism. [This did not mean that Asian subjects of the Japanese empire had no agency in their own history.] In their choices to collaborate or resist, Chinese and Koreans helped determine the shape of Japan's total empire But for the most part colonial subjects were not agents of the history with which this book is primarily concerned, for they did not participate in the building of Manchukuo within Japan.²⁷

Young completely silences the agency of the colonized as well as their sides of stories under the pretext of bearing out her thesis. Above all, her oversimplification of the relationship between the colonies and the metropolises is in danger of covering the close linkage that forms and affects both sides of the social domains and the inseparable ties between national building and empire building.²⁸ Stoler and Cooper both argue that students of colonialism take colony and metropole as a single analytic category, and the interrogation of the common nature of the two, such as “the dialectics of inclusion and exclusion,” should be laid out according to a new research agenda and taken as part of the examination of the colonial domain that stood out and was unconnected to the metropole.²⁹ Moreover, Young's notion of the Japanese empire is founded upon a

²⁷Ibid., 15.

²⁸Young's statement reveals that colonial subjects' agency is way too underestimated because of their asymmetrical relationships with the metropolis. However, their agency was executed to a great extent because they wrote about the empire in Japanese within and outside of the metropolis, direct counterevidence of Young's argument above. Along the same line, their ways of living have also been simplified into the two dominant bipolar modes of living, resistance and collaboration, thereby overlooking expansive gray or contested areas straddling between the two or other social alternatives the colonized conceived of.

²⁹Stoler and Cooper, *Tensions of Empire*, 3-4,15. However, Komagome attempts to overcome this approach. He notes that his study's perspective is not limited to the binary oppositions between Chosŏn (Colonial Korea) and Japan or Taiwan and Japan proper and captures the intersection of structural relations between multiples of colonized or occupied areas and Japan. His particular attention to the linkage between the two leads him to clarify “not only aspects that situations in Japan proper regulated colonial rule but also the colonial impacts on Japan proper, an approach of studying intersections of regions and their synchronous structures.” In addition to earlier economy-centered research, he adopts cultural studies as the history of politics to “illuminate the processes by which diverse contradictions

notion of colonial subjects unified by nationality, resulting from a presumption that Chinese peoplehood is an already invariable entity, not a process of constituting it. However, the existence of Taiwanese who lived in Japan and migrated to Manchukuo during the colonial period exemplifies that Chinese peoplehood was not fixed but rather shaped on their part by their interactions with other people with their own ways.

In a similar vein, Norman Smith's recent study, *Resisting Manchukuo: Chinese Women Writers and the Japanese Occupation*, the first comprehensive research in North America on Chinese women's literature of Manchukuo, also presupposes the category of Chinese people.³⁰ The research persuasively demonstrates how Chinese female writers from Manchukuo covertly or overtly challenged patriarchal norms and how they specifically targeted the oppressive Manchukuo regime and its authority to

and cleavages were inherently produced in the notions of being "Japanese" and "Japanese language" as the policies for cultural integration of the colonies developed." Komagome, *Shokuminchi teikoku nihon no bunka tōgō*, 6-7. He also presents this view in "'Teikokushiki' kenkyū no shatei" (Ranges of studies on the history of empire)" *Nihonshiki kenkyū* (Study of Japanese history) 452 (2000): 224. In short, he examines the processes of cultural integration in the field of education with intellectual discourse on the ideas of being "Japanese" and "Japanese language" and how their ideas were materialized at the levels of official policies and social systems.

³⁰There are several other studies addressing renowned Chinese writers from Manchuria. C.T. Hsia, "The Korchin Banner Plains: A Biographical and Critical Study." in *La Littérature Chinoise au Temps de la Guerre de Resistance contre Japon (de 1937 a 1945)* (Paris: Editions de la Fondation Singer-Polignac, 1982). Haili Kong, "The Spirit of 'Native-Soil' in the Fictional World of Duanmu Hongliang and Mo Yan." *China Information* 11.4 (Spring 1997):58-67. Haili Kong, "What Did Literary Patronage Mean to an Individualistic Writer in the 1930s: The Case of Duanmu Hongliang." *Journal of Modern Literature in Chinese* 2. 1 (July 1998): 31-51. Leo Ou-fan Lee discusses Xiao Jun in his book *The Romantic Generation of Modern Chinese Writers* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973). Lydia Liu, "The Female Body and Nationalist Discourse: Manchuria in Xiao Hong's *Field of Life and Death*," in *Body, Subject & Power in China*, ed. Tani Barlow and Angela Zito (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1994), 157-177. Liu Yichang, *Duanmu Hongliang lun* (Study of Duanmu Hongliang) (Hong Kong: Shijie chubanshe, 1977). Okada Hideki examines how different Chinese writers' groups shaped their particular literary tenets between art for art's sake and engagement in governmental policies, which were often competing with each other. Okada Hideki, *Wei manzhouguo wen xue* (Literature of Manchukuo) trans. Jin Conglin (Changchun: Jilin daxue chubanshe, 2001). Pang traces the origins of Northeastern Chinese literature, its spirit, and its regional culture from ancient historical sources and geological and ecological traits, characterized as the Northeast Spirit. Pang Zengyu, *Heitudi wenhua yu dongbei zuojia qun* (The Culture of Black Soil and the Group of Northeastern [Chinese] Writers) (Changsha: Hunan jiaoyu chubanshe, 1995). In South Korea, Choi Jōng Ok's Ph.D. dissertation, *Manjuguk munhak ūi yōn'gu* (Study of Manchukuo's literature) deals with Chinese literary works categorized in native-soil fiction, family fiction, and fiction of current political situations. It shows there was no unifying category of Manchukuo literature as such and that there existed Japanese literature of Manchukuo and Chinese literature of Manchukuo only. Ch'oe Jōng Ok, *Manjuguk munhak ūi yōn'gu* (Study of Manchukuo's literature), Ph.D. dissertation, (Seoul: Korea University, 2007). It is evident that study of the literature of the Korean diaspora or Russian diaspora or culture is outside consideration .

establish notions of ideal womanhood and motherhood. Chinese women writers disclosed their harsh life under Japanese colonial rule while expressing their inner desires and sexuality as they pursued literary careers in the face of enormous adversity, such as shortages of paper and censorship. Despite detailed and well-developed research on historical materiality in the field of modern Chinese literature of Manchukuo, Smith leaves untouched one of the main issues: Chinese female writers' relationships with other races and their racial positionality in the multiracial state, which is of vital importance to the formation of Chinese women's identity as well. Smith argues that "few of the women wrote of ethnicity, and none echoed the official rhetoric. Instead, in their writings, they cite ethnicity as difference."³¹ Smith further maintains that "[t]he absence of any positive correlation between the writers' ethnicity and state rhetoric is symbolic of the resistance to the Manchukuo cultural agenda that united these disparate writers."³² As mentioned above, his analytic framework is still founded upon a clear-cut dichotomy between oppression and resistance and the colonizer and the colonized, thereby excluding other possible discussions about representations of race and new social space and multiple identities forged in the multidimensional dynamics of colonial rule and racial relations.

To sum up, firstly, the existing scholarship on Manchukuo, with the exception of Olga Bakich's study, adopts a nation-state-based approach and hardly questions the category of the "five races" and the existence of certain nationalities; thus it fails to include people, such as those with a hybrid identity and children of mixed blood, who do not fit racially into one nationality. Rather than delving into the processes by which certain categories of people were strategically manipulated in order to be included or

³¹Norman Smith, *Resisting Manchukuo: Chinese Women Writers and the Japanese Occupation* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2007), 63. Smith also cites Duara and states that "Prasenjit Duara, too, has noted the 'stunning silence regarding ethnicity in Manchukuo literature.'" Ibid.

³²Ibid.

excluded in law and cultural production, the previous studies commonly lack an examination of how the state defines its nationals and what constitutes a people. In conjunction with this, they do not address whether or not the concept of sovereignty is used arbitrarily or misappropriated for the sake of argument. Secondly, on the whole, the previous studies on Manchukuo are still confined by the current disciplinary divisions according to subject matter, methodology, and nationality, so that their treatment of literary source materials merely serves as a lens through which they examine and refract the scholars' theses about historical realities of the time that they want to present from a territory-bound perspective. In this regard, bridging the current disciplinary boundaries and grappling with the problem of the represented and the representing, with respect to similar topics on race and nationality, becomes all the more necessary to grasp the fuller dynamics of the social and racial formations taking place in different realms simultaneously. To achieve this, I bring together a variety of sources, from law, (oral) history, literature, film, print culture, etc., and the analysis of social imagination of race and nationality produced by White Russians, Chinese (Taiwanese), the Japanese, and immigrant Koreans. Thirdly, the previous studies, with their narratives of resistance or collaboration and nation formation based on capitalism, cannot address people's quests for open possibilities, alternatives, and new perceptions of spatiality unlimited by geographical and national boundaries. Therefore, I argue that the territorial borderlines of such ethnic categorization should be reconsidered and I see Manchuria as a space in which a kaleidoscopic circuit of fictive and fictitious racial capital and cultural commodities about race are constantly circulated for appropriation and a space that creates a surplus value in that people simultaneously demarcate and cross the borders of race and culture as well as the physical borders of states.³³ Through close readings of texts, I tease out the

³³Duara argues that the borderland model does not fit Manchukuo because the Han Chinese are a

significance of multivalent aspects of colonial social relations as represented in the law and cultural production and address them in terms of nationality, class, race, and gender.

Based on archival research on law, history, literature, and film, my dissertation adopts an interdisciplinary and comparative approach and examines the representations and positioning of “foreigners” in both literary and visual texts, including films produced in the 1930s and 1940s by (Taiwanese) Chinese and immigrant Korean writers in Japanese-occupied Manchuria. My central concern in this study is to show how non-colonizers such as Russians, who were perceived as racially white but were not colonizers, and the offspring of interracial marriages between Chinese and Russians, (Taiwanese) Chinese, and Koreans in Manchukuo, simultaneously mapped out and destabilized the boundaries of race and nationality within the processes of nation building and (de)colonization. This project focuses on how (Taiwanese) Chinese and immigrant Koreans recognized and perceived

dominant group. Duara, *Sovereignty and Authenticity: Manchukuo and the East Asian Modern*, 49. However, one can point out the fact that multiple races coexisted even in pre-modern periods and that the Japanese, Koreans, and Russians lived there. Based on Marx’s definition of fictitious capital, I have coined this term to highlight the generation of credit, value, symbolic capital along the ideas and representations of race expressed by cultural agents. The concept and ideas of race *per se* are fictive and thus have no intrinsic value, but in reality they can take up fictive and fictitious value that can be turned into imaginary and symbolic capital, the value yield in racialized, commodified cultural products with or without engaging in actual production activity. David Harvey explains the concept of fictitious capital as follows: “Money must exist before it can be converted into capital. Furthermore, an insufficiency of money relative to the quantity of commodities in circulation will indeed act as a check to accumulation. But the creation of money in no way guarantees its conversion into capital. This conversion involves the creation of what Marx calls ‘fictitious capital’- money that is thrown into circulation as capital without any material basis in commodities or production activity. David Harvey, *The Limits to Capital* (London & New York: Verso, 1999), 95. The creation and circulation of this capital is tied to the emergence of credit money, and the best example of the mechanism of production of fictitious value and capital can be found in land and land trade, since one can make a marketable claim on land, which in fact has no inherent value but has a price and is exchanged as a commodity in actual trade. A negative example of fictive capital is debts. Harvey, *Limits to Capital*, 267-299, 367. I elaborate more on this concept when defining Manchukuo as the spaces of social and cultural lability and flux and other characteristics of capital generated in the field of cultural production of Manchukuo in a later part of introduction. The meaning of the Korean term *Kando*, signifying Manchuria, implies an open space where borders can always be crossed; it literally means “an island in between,” and Koreans did cross the border depending on agricultural conditions. See Oh Yang Ho, *Hanguk munhak gwa kando* (Korean Literature and Kando (Jiandao)) (Seoul: Munye Ch’ulp’ansa, 1988), 10.

foreigners in terms of similarity and sameness, otherness and difference, and on the nature of their intricate interrelationships in shaping their social, national, and hybrid identities. This research explores how diaspora and the experience of other cultures affected the formation of national or fluid identities and the perception of spatiality in relation to the establishment of both Chinese and Korean nationalities and the possibility of deterritorialization.³⁴

In the following section, I address major topics as well as some of key terms associated with the social status of non-colonizers that I take into consideration in the dissertation. Above all, drawing upon Giorgio Agamben's study on the structure of sovereignty, defined as the inclusive exclusion in the state of exception, which becomes the rule in modern, totalitarian nation-states, I examine the relationship between the Russians' social status in Manchukuo and the state's adoption of governing apparatus to simultaneously control and include stateless people in order to regulate them within the state.³⁵ Agamben develops the concept of sovereignty based on a model from Nazi concentration camps, in which bare life is constantly situated in a threshold of inside and outside juridical order; the meaning of law is always suspended by the sovereign power, and thus bare life was placed in a state of exception, which eventually resulted in the mass extermination of Jews.³⁶ Agamben's discussion of the paradoxical nature of sovereignty is applicable to the case of the White Russians in Manchukuo, for the primary logic behind the exertion of sovereign power in the state operated similarly in that Russians were excluded from the law but

³⁴Stoler and Cooper have remarked on the roles culture played in the operation of racism and multilayered aspects of colonial archives and note that [i]t [racism] has long depended on hierarchies of civility, on cultural distinctions of breeding, character, and psychological disposition, on the relationship between the hidden essence of race and what were claimed to be its visual markers." Stoler and Cooper, *Tensions of Empire*, 34. On the whole, cultural differences in most cases were identified with racial differences in colonial history, but my focus is to show how the production of culture and knowledge simultaneously involves multi-layered aspects of (un)making those differences within the very process of (re)presentation of them.

³⁵Giorgio Agamben, *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life*, trans. Daniel Heller-Roazen (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), 15.

³⁶*Ibid.*, 28.

the state, tightly controlling political thought, deported a large number of people under the charge of engaging in communism.³⁷

Despite the relevance of Agamben's work to Russians in Manchukuo, Agamben overlooks how sovereignty works in relation to the laws of nationality and social citizenship and cultural capital among different races in multiethnic and multicultural states, particularly when those states such as Manchukuo adopt the rhetoric of a universal ideal in order to embrace multi-ethnic groups. In Agamben's theoretical schema of the logics of sovereignty, one important issue left unaddressed is how modern totalitarian states can also create a sense of legality and the idea of social citizenship that can protect bare, natural life. Moreover if the modern, totalitarian states operate by the paradigm of modernity in the state of exception, that is, the structure of sovereignty, then what roles do knowledge and culture play in the constitution of modernity and nation formation? Although knowledge and culture are produced in tight association with the exertion of sovereign power, they, as well as their production, consumption, and reception, can also be dissociated from the projects of modernity and nation formation. My discussion of sovereignty is drawing basically from Agamben's conceptualization of it. However, I further examine how the state excludes Russians in the law but simultaneously includes them in the field of cultural production, which was also often heavily sponsored and controlled by the state; that is, the stateless people were excluded in the law but their bodies were graphically included in print media and film produced and consumed within the territory of the state. This exceptional phenomenon illustrates, on the one hand, the exclusive nature presented in the exertion of sovereign power; on the other hand, it leads us to reassess

³⁷Accurately speaking, about three-thousand railway workers involved in communism went back to Russia in June of 1935. Wang Shengjin, *Weiman shiqi zhongguo dongbei diqu yimin yanjiu – jianlun riben diguozhuyi shishi de yimin qinlue* (Study of migration in Northeastern China during the Manchukuo period with the discussion of migration invasion enacted by Japanese imperialism) (Beijing: Zhongguo shehuikexue chubanshe, 2005), 139.

the production of cultural capital by stateless people and its meaning in broad contexts of nation and empire building, a meaning which suggests the pursuit of social alternatives to the homogenization of the social and social formations. Manchukuo's legislation of a law of social citizenship also attests to another inclusive facet of the operation of the state which appears to be in concert with the deployment of the rhetoric of "the harmony of the five races." The study here of Russians in Manchukuo shows how they were both limited to "bare life" without rights, but conversely, also had possible benefits of social citizenship. This study further shows how cultural production inscribed in the imagination ideas about race that were not limited by state authority and cultural agents' intentions for the creations of their works. In other words, it addresses linguistic, literary, and technological imagination about race and racial thinking that go beyond realms of identification and signification in cultural production. This perspective not only further develops a new historical specificity and cultural legacies of White Russians in Manchuria, which have remained untouched in major areas of study, but also overcomes the approach to studying subjects bound to the principal paradigms of modernity and nation-building.

White Russians' stateless status also presents a new way of thinking about capitalism and its role in relation to nationalism. Let me return to two terms, "a circuit of fictive, fictitious racial capital and the spaces of social and cultural lability and flux." Drawing from Bourdieu, Ghasson Hage addresses the relationship between cultural capital and national capital by differentiating nationality, practical nationality, or practical belonging, referring to cultural-national belonging or acceptance at a collective, daily level in practice, from citizenship, referring to institutional-political

belonging or acceptance in multicultural Australia.³⁸ Hage argues that “practical nationality is best conceived of as a form of national ‘cultural capital.’ ” He notes:

For Bourdieu, the accumulated cultural capital within a given field is ultimately converted into symbolic capital, which is the recognition and legitimacy given to a person or group for the cultural capital they have accumulated. Within the nation it is national belonging that constitutes the symbolic capital of the field. That is, the aim of accumulating national capital precisely to convert into national belonging; to have your accumulated national capital recognised as legitimately national by the dominant cultural grouping within the field. Consequently, at the most basic level of its mode of operation, national belonging tends to be proportional to accumulated national capital. That is, there is a tendency for a national subject to be perceived as just as much of a national as the amount of national capital he or she has accumulated.³⁹

Hage has insightfully scrutinized the mechanism in which cultural capital can be converted into national capital by national subjects and their direct, symmetrical relationships in order for them to impart more legitimacy to the national capital they possess and accumulate even more, thereby elevating the value and quality of their practical nationality or national belonging. However, this account has at least one or even more major blind spots: how stateless people are situated within the nation and what kind of cultural and national capital they produce in their relation to practical nationality or national belonging. In addition, Hage’s study is mainly concerned with the practice of racism and nationalism and their co-relational workings in people’s interactions with other groups of people in everyday social life within the nation, and thus there is no space for examining cultural products representing their racial and cultural contacts which suggest a new mode of thinking of cultural capital dissociated with national capital in discourse. In other words, not all cultural capital is readily converted into national capital to legitimize more authentically and powerfully

³⁸Ghassan Hage, *White Nation: Fantasies of White Supremacy in a Multicultural Society* (New York: Routledge, 2000), 49-51. I also differentiate between these two terms and define them when I discuss Kim Man Sŏn’s “Dual Nationalities” in chapter three.

³⁹*Ibid.*, 51-53.

national belonging, and representations of stateless people and their relationships with cultural capital within the territory of the nation can anticipate a new form of capital that does not lead to its hegemonic identification by certain groups of people and cannot necessarily even be converted entirely into national capital.⁴⁰ It is this research direction that I pursue in chapter five with an examination of representations of the Russian diaspora and the ways in which sound, music, and film technology are arranged in relation to images to generate certain meanings in the text of the film as well as to audiences. The employment of sound and technology all have constitutive relations to delineating people's national belonging. At the same time, however, their arrangements reveal how the production of cultural capital is not concerned solely with its centralization for the appropriation of the nation and its accumulation, functioning as a counteractive force so as to reflect critically upon the problematic of such homogenization and accumulation of cultural and national capital.

Seen from this perspective, Manchukuo as a space in the field of cultural production served neither solely as social and cultural grounds for nation formation fuelled by regional and global forces of capitalism nor as a case of new imperialism that reveals a new form of imperialism unfound in other, European colonies in history, as Duara has argued. But rather, it was a space of social and cultural lability and flux in which two opposing or multiple axes of actualizing, identifying forces in (re)presentations and discourse of race and racial thinking work with each other to stave off the possible and ultimate occurrence of any axiomatic facets of identification, homogenization, and hegemonization within themselves. What I mean by social and cultural lability and flux does not simply refer to the ability to adapt to new social

⁴⁰David Harvey also presents a similar view on how the uniqueness of regional characteristics represented and accumulated in the form of symbolic capital and monopoly rent can be a resource for fashioning social alternatives to homogenization and globalization, revealing contradictory aspects of the accumulation of monopoly rent. For more detailed discussion see, David Harvey, "The Art of Rent: Globalization, Monopoly and the Commodification of Culture," in *Socialist Register: A World of Contradiction*, ed. Leo Panich & Colin Leys (London: Meril Press, 2001), 93-110.

living environments in a general sense, but rather they point to the very unstable status in which ambiguous images, discourse, and tropes that resist immediate identification are (re)presented and other spiritual and imaginative elements unbound by semantic constraints are subtly inserted within them, thereby preventing the elements from retreating into one dominant element that can be identified and centralized. The antinomical nature of constructing and deconstructing race and nationality exists in a constant flux and these elements are far from being boiled down into one particular topicality and semantic structure. Even while two conflicting voices inherent in narration and discourse are articulated and represented, their very coexistence keeps their internal complexity open and flowing between themselves. The various layers of texts, which often intertwine actualizing and deconstructive forces together, ultimately add different layers of meanings to the texts, while inscribing the creative potential to forge a new meaning of the social that goes beyond the existing frameworks of modernity and nation formation. Just as bone marrow is composed of soft, sponge-like, flexible tissues, whose inner structure is hollow yet full of productive cells which develop into blood cells, the source of life, the space of Manchuria in the field of cultural production is incessantly (de)marked as spaces of social and cultural lability, whose significance lies precisely in its status of flux *per se* which provides social alternatives to nation building and capitalist mode of living as a source of hope for challenging them. Fissures are to space as layers are to texts; thus, the exploration of complexity and uncertainty of texts representing space and cultural capital functions like discovering a fissure in unified and solid space. For example, Luo Binji's "Xiangqin-Kangtiangang" (A Fellow from the Hometown, Kang Tiangang) represents the protagonist's migrancy as a quest for capital to marry, but it ironically exhibits the existence of time and space beyond the production of surplus value without

homogenizing space and time.⁴¹ I explore the significance of migrancy in this work, suggesting that boundaries of race and ideas of the social are not strictly confined to building nationality and homonization and standardization of space. In this, the space resists being standardized by human labor and renders various elements even more ambiguous and fluid, echoing with the protagonist's unrelenting journey to reach the object of love, whom he never attains in the end. The space of Manchuria is marked with deterritorialization, spatiality and temporality that go beyond the production of surplus value, a surplus that is not entirely incorporated into national, capitalist, or modern times in terms of marriage, and ideas of space, labor, and value. Kang's migrancy thus impedes the formation of homogenous cultural capital and space and symbolically envisions the new meaning of the social and social resources for the spatial and temporal heterogeneity.

In tandem with this line of questioning, this study draws upon historiography, narratology, reader-response criticism, and various literary and cultural theories to examine one of the central concerns: the use of language in narrative and (oral) history; the systems of signs are not only a primary and powerful means to forge racial, hybrid, and national identities, but they are also the very location where boundary making and crossing are simultaneously constituted and deconstructed. Thus, I investigate the ways in which the boundaries of nationality and historiography are demarcated, while capturing significant moments in which the constitution of the boundaries are at once weakened and further unsettled in the field of cultural production and in knowledge production. The flux of asymmetrical but interrelated racial relations reifies to some degree cultural agents' changing ideas of race and racial thinking. Yet the employment of their diverse modes of rhetoric and trope to describe changing ideas of race and racial thinking simultaneously yields unexpected disruptive

⁴¹Originally published in *Wenyibao* in January, 1943, in Luo Binji, *Luo Binji duanpian xiaoshuo xuan* (Selection of Luo Binji's Short Stories) (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1980), 20-45.

effects on the essentialization and centralization of nationality, so that the construction and accumulation of national capital are hampered by the same processes of articulation in writing, however inconsiderable and limited the articulations are. Cultural agents' social imagination and creative modes of representing and thinking about boundaries of race and the ideas of the social are not strictly confined to the building of nationality and homogenization and the stabilization of space, but rather, they inscribe the possibility of deterritorialization, as well as diverse and discursive historical contingencies that deconstruct race and nationality.

Chapter Layouts and Overview

As an introduction to the topics on White Russians in Manchukuo, chapter one, “Between Legal Exclusion and Visual Inclusion: Russians and the ‘Five Races’ in the Laws of Family Registration and Nationality and in Print Media of Manchukuo,” begins with a brief overview of the history of Russian migration into China as a starting point to discuss Russians’ peculiar social status in Manchukuo. This section exhibits a wide range of discrepancy between diverse groups of Russian migrants and typified images of them in literature. It then addresses how Russians were included visually as one of the “five races” in print media but were excluded from the law, bringing fresh light to a gap between the Russians’ actual social status and the state’s management of them. This chapter introduces *Series of Laws and Regulations of Manchukuo*, which I unearthed from one of my field research sites and shows how Manchukuo attempted to legislate a law of human rights, starkly illustrating its inclusive rhetoric toward stateless people and immigrants;⁴² it prefigures the possibility of a legal space for both the exiled and the immigrants, as well as the

⁴²Guowuyuan fazhiju, *Manzhouguo faling jilan* (Series of laws and regulations of Manchukuo) (Xinjing [Changchun]: Manzhou xingzheng xuehui, 1937).

emergence of social citizenship in China, a subject in Chinese studies which has excluded Manchukuo.⁴³

Chapter two, “A ‘White Race’ without Supremacy: Racial Hybridity and Russian Diaspora in the Chinese Literature of Manchukuo,” examines fictional representations of racial hybrids in the short stories about the offspring of interracial marriages between Russians and Chinese, written by Chinese writers from Manchukuo. With the literary works by Luo Feng, Ding Ning, Shi Jun, and Ku Tu, it specifically explores how racial hybrids and Russian immigrants can or cannot become a people and what constitutes a people. The Chinese writers of the 1930s and 1940s identified Russians’ physicality and their interracial unions as an impurity of blood, a cause of racial contaminants. In the analysis of these short stories, I address social mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion of mixed bloods and the roles they played in the formation of Chinese national identity and nationality in the Chinese social and popular imagination of them as depicted in a detective and other stories. As opposed to white supremacy found in other narratives of colonial relations between white and natives, the Chinese notion of whiteness neither confers any supremacy on the Russians as white nor guarantees sociopolitical and economic privilege in literary imagination. Nonetheless, the discourse of mixing portends the potential for a counter-discourse that disputes and debunks the normality of pure blood.

Chapter three, “(De) Constructing an ‘In-Between’ Race: Boundaries, Clothing, and Nationality in Representations of Koreans in the Chinese and Korean Literature of Manchukuo,” examines fictional representations of Koreans with respect to clothing, homeland, and nationality, as portrayed by Chinese, Japanese, or immigrant Korean writers in Manchuria, such as Mei Niang, Imamura Eiji, Shu Qun,

⁴³Perry’s recent study on Chinese citizenship does not include any case from Manchukuo. Merle Goldman, and Elizabeth J. Perry, eds. *Changing Meanings of Citizenship in Modern China* (Cambridge, MA, London: Harvard University Press, 2002).

and Kim Man Sŏn. In the absence of visible racial markers ascribed to the body, Chinese and Korean writers used a clothing motif in order to display their particular tastes. The differences in their tastes came to stand for their nationality, and they are constructed along the lines of gender, class, and nationality and created and controlled solely by the voice of the narrator. Moreover, a Chinese encounter with Koreans or vice versa enabled the writers to produce literary works on similar topics, essentially epitomizing the problem of the representing and the represented *par excellence*. In juxtaposing stories on clothing and nationality from both Chinese and Korean perspectives, I am particularly concerned with exploring and elucidating subtle yet complex ways in which race and nationality are created among culturally and physically proximate peoples, emerging out of the state's enactment of the policy of racial harmony and the imposition of the hierarchy of peoples. Centering on the relationship between clothing and identity formation, I particularly explore how clothing functions in the time and space in which the characters are situated and produces symbolic meanings in the process of forging and representing a national and simulated identity. I examine how changes of clothing generate the gap between a given, 'authentic,' national self and a represented, feigned self and the significance of such transformability of the wearer's identity through clothing and of passing for the "colonized" in the politics of identity formation in the symbolic exchange of cultural capital.

Chapter four addresses Taiwanese experiences of Japanese colonialism in Manchukuo based on the reading of *Rizhi shiqi zai manzhou de taiwanren* (Taiwanese people in Manchuria during Japanese rule), utilizing a particular focus on the functions of memory and narration and their significance in writing a national history.⁴⁴ By

⁴⁴Xu Xueji, *Rizhi shiqi zai manzhou de taiwanren* (Taiwanese Experiences in Manchuria during the Japan[ese] Occupation, the translation of the book title is in the original) (Taipei: Zhonggyang yanjiuyuan jindai yanjiusuo, 2002).

identifying gaps between the so-called “historical reality” and Taiwanese reconstruction of the colonial past concerning the food rationing system in Manchukuo and Japan and the use of the trope of food in narrative, it shows how their storytelling creates the possibility of narrating the colonial past without reverting to the binary oppositions of subject-object and victim-victimized.

Chapter five will examine cinematic representations of the Russian diaspora and the placement of music and sound in relation to movement in the film *Watashi no Uguisu* (My Nightingale), directed in 1943 by Shimazu Yasujiro and released only to audiences in Manchukuo. Drawing on Michel Chion and Deleuze, I show how the placement of sound and noise work in relation to image, movement, and time, and also in association with gender and cinematic topography. The overall intent of the chapter is to explore how the film captures and represents particular mobile moments in cinema with sound and music and creates a new cinematic, hermeneutic space without definite and stable centers and boundaries. It examines the functions of sound effects inserted at certain intervals, indicating the malleability of time and space in cinema, as well as the significance of scenes with discord between the source of sound, speech acts, and subtitles. This management of image and film technology defers the audience’s identification of sound sources, so that the incongruity between image and sound render the direct relation between the two more ambiguous. With a close reading of the film at the levels of text, image, and technology, the chapter ultimately locates the meanings of the Russian diaspora and the legacies of colonial cultures in Manchukuo and the Japanese Empire.

Chapter six analyzes Luo Binji’s short story, “Xiangqin-Kang Tiangang” (A Fellow from the Hometown, Kang Tiangang), as an example of a representation of migrancy, spatiality, and temporality that are not incorporated into national, capitalist, or modern time in terms of marriage, and ideas of space, labor, and value. My

discussion demonstrates how the story specifically exemplifies the space of Manchuria creatively perceived as an open and hybrid space in which cultural agents voiced and exercised their own mode of power to draw racial boundaries and divisions, while contesting the very social mechanisms that produced them.

In the epilogue, I introduce a contemporary documentary film on Russians living in the Northeast of China, *Woshi zhongguo ren* (I am Chinese), directed by Shen Shaomin and released in 2007, and then compare it to the cultural legacies represented from the Manchukuo era.⁴⁵

⁴⁵Shen Shaomin, *Woshi zhongguo ren* (I am Chinese), DVD (2007). This is an independent documentary film, so it does not have a production company.

CHAPTER 1:
BETWEEN LEGAL EXCLUSION AND VISUAL INCLUSION:
RUSSIANS AND FIVE RACES IN THE LAWS OF FAMILY REGISTRATION
AND NATIONALITY AND IN THE PRINT MEDIA OF MANCHUKUO

This chapter will examine the laws and regulations of nationality and human rights, with a particular focus on Russians, as well as on the family registration system in the laws of Manchukuo and their relation to representations of the five races at the level of popular images. It begins with an introduction to the origin of Russian migration into Manchuria, which is hitherto little known in Chinese studies, in order to lay out the problematic positioning of them from different source materials, such as historical and literary narratives, law, and print media in Manchukuo. Historical accounts of the Russian migration into China offer not only a background to the movement of population, but they also reveal how different and seemingly contradictory versions of history of the Russian diaspora into Manchuria are framed and (re)presented in various types of documented writings during the Manchukuo era and the present time. Rather than critically evaluating the credibility or factuality of information on Russians' expatriation from historical writings, I intend to contrast them with a selection of Chinese writers' writings about their life in exiled as a laconic overview of characterizations of Russians and racial hybrids between the Russians and the Chinese depicted in the Chinese literature of Manchukuo.

Judging from source materials from my field research sites in Northeastern China, Russians' ambiguous racial status is expressed best in the inclusion of them as one of the five races in the print media and the exclusion of them from the same category of the five races in the law, as shown in *Manzhouguo faling jilan* (Series of laws and regulations of Manchukuo). The text only lists Han, Manchu, Mongolian,

Hui, Japanese, and Korean people, but no immigrant Russians, which I will explain in detail in a later part of this chapter.⁴⁶ It is still debatable if the fact that there is no entry for Russians as an independent category in the law can be seen as a legal or political exclusion or as the governmental exertion of some other type of political regulative power. However, I view Russians' legally unidentified social status as a form of legal exclusion on the historical grounds that they were forcibly deported to U.S.S.R. after Manchukuo's purchase of the Chinese Eastern Railway in 1935, as mentioned in the introduction. The enumeration of the six peoples above, on the one hand, means that they become the object of population control by the government. On the other hand, the categorization of them means a legal rationale for the inclusion of those peoples, legitimately warranting the acquisition of their tenable legal status, though the acquisition could be nominal, according to the legal delimitations at the time of the enactment of law, though it is also subject to change at any time. By contrast, leaving Russians without a category in the law signifies that they are in a state of exception, in Agamben's terms, so that they can be instantaneously managed and controlled on an *ad hoc* basis by the government, placing them into a more governable and vulnerable status. Their social status as an exiled people adrift in the seemingly racially harmonized state with never definitely defined sociopolitical rights in the law places them into a state of suspension in the law and dependant on the state's possible adoption of different tactics to address racial policies.

Drawing on the observation of simultaneous inclusion and exclusion of Russians in print culture and law, this chapter examines how and why Russians were situated at the hub of racial formations in Manchukuo. By exploring the significance and effects of legal and political exclusion and visual inclusion in print media, it intends to clarify the logics of inclusion and exclusion as well as the state apparatus of

⁴⁶Guowuyuan fazhiju, *Manzhouguo faling jilan* (Series of laws and regulations of Manchukuo) (Xinjing [Changchun]: Manzhou xingzheng xuehui, 1937), 841.

Manchukuo concerning racial formations and the possibility of the formation of an inclusive, universal notion of social citizenship presented in the law of human rights. With a review of the existing category of five races defined by scholars in diverse ways, I explore the different and shifting ways in which the category of the five races and its content have been defined and forged, and how they have changed over time. I attempt to show wide incongruities between how laws, in actuality, regulate the five races and employ the rhetoric of racial policies in visual images. The examination of the exclusion and inclusion of Russians in law and popular images further elucidates the ways in which race and its meaning are created and circulated through rearrangements of whites who are not colonizers or part of a dominant group in a colonial context in China.

In the discussion of Manchukuo's law, the chapter first looks into the qualifications and prerequisites for being a national subject of Manchukuo. How did Manchukuo define her people, and include, exclude, classify, and categorize certain groups of people according to race, ethnicity, nationality, gender, etc.? Introducing and reviewing all of the articles of law lies beyond the scope of this chapter; therefore, I focus on how the police, as the primary governmental agent for inspecting peoples, recorded and classified their racial origins and status with regard to laws of family registration. The examination of laws and regulations on race and nationality sheds light on how the state and society constituted and configured them in the workings of inclusion and exclusion in law and the field of cultural production. In short, the regulative operation of the state is in sharp contrast to the laws of human rights, another inclusive, universal aspect of the configuration of people. The presence of the laws of human rights reveals how the colony also created and managed both the exclusive and inclusive principles in governing multiethnic groups. This perspective leads to a deeper understanding of Manchukuo's state apparatus' conflict within itself

and yet nonetheless harbingers the feasibility of the law for stateless people, an unexplored colonial legacy of Manchukuo and the Japanese Empire in scholarship to date.

History of Russian Migration into Manchuria and the Problem of its Representation in the Chinese Literature of Manchukuo

With an overview of historical narratives on Russian migration into China, this section aims to show wide ranges of discrepancy in the depictions of Russians in history and literature. The former recounts narratives of the social and historical conditions under which Russian migration occurred and the roles certain Russians actually played in the building of Russian communities and Chinese society in China, whereas the latter presents typified images of Russians and racial hybrids through Chinese writers' creative writing from Manchukuo in the 1930s and 1940s. I briefly contrast historical accounts concerning the origin and particular pattern of Russian migration into China with literary representations of them, a major source material and topic which I examine in chapter two in detail. But in this chapter, the juxtaposition of the two source materials not only highlights different modes of writings about the same subject, but also captures the problematic points wherein Chinese writers objectified Russians and racial hybrids with their power of voice control over the narrative objects.

Mainland Chinese and American studies on the history of Russian migration into China offer different points of view on the movement of Russians and their occupations; in sum, the latter positively asserts Russians' leading roles in the modernization of China, while the former underpins the heterogeneous composition of the Russian immigrant population and their engagement in various economic activities. Moreover, *Manshū nenkan* (The Manchurian Almanac) of 1936, compiled by the Japanese, presents a state-centered yet more concrete reference point about the

Russians' adjustment to a new environment, describing the social and economic life they led as newcomers to Manchukuo.

The Russian empire acquired territories “on the left bank of the Amur river (in Chinese, Heilongjiang) and on the right bank of the Ussuri river” as part of an agreement with China in 1858-1860.⁴⁷ Chinese people, mostly Manchus and Han, still were restricted in the Far East due to the prohibition of Han immigration into Manchuria.⁴⁸ However, it is highly probable that Russians moved in and out in this region as well in order to conduct political and economic business. Jonathan Spence's account of the Kangxi Emperor attests to the fact that Russians came to Manchuria even earlier than the nineteenth century, probably in the seventeenth century, and the Kangxi Emperor treated them well.⁴⁹ Moreover, the Russian empire ruled their colonies, including those in the Far East, with systematic arrangements with the Cossacks who were employed as both soldiers and plowmen. In the early twentieth century, two of eleven Cossack detachments were stationed in the Amur and Ussuri areas to control Asians. The first step of Russian colonization occurred when Russian farmers migrated to the colonies, including those in the Far East. However, Asian and Russian ways of life were substantially dissimilar, and Russians were thus discouraged by the government from interacting with Asians. Most soldiers lived with their families in the colonies. The internal, sociopolitical upheavals such as the Bolshevik victory and the famine of 1921 forced Russians to remain in the colonies; religious persecution also encouraged the formation of a Russian diaspora. Apart from Cossack soldiers and farmers, the Russian governments dispatched intellectuals with advanced

⁴⁷Galina Vitkovskaya, et al., “Chinese Migration into Russia,” in *Rapprochement or Rivalry?: Russia-China Relations in a Changing Asia*, ed. Sherman W. Garnett (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2000), 353-354.

⁴⁸Ibid.

⁴⁹The Kangxi Emperor expressed deep sympathy and concern for Russians and Russian prisoners. He considered that fair treatment of other people was requisite to build trust between ruler and ruled. Jonathan D. Spence, *Emperor of China: Self-Portrait of K'ang-hsi* (New York: Vintage Book, 1975), 34.

skills and undergraduate and graduate degrees to the colonies to modernize and civilize the colonized. Many of these intellectuals often voluntarily went eastward, having a strong conviction to take up a mission of “Europeanization.” They helped educate the local people in order for them to lay a basis for a nation by training the populace as instructors, doctors, and scientists.⁵⁰ Therefore, these sources strongly suggest that the majority of Russian immigrants to China, in terms of population composition by class and occupation, were Cossack soldiers, farmers, and intellectuals. In particular, intellectuals, with their advanced knowledge and technology, were agents for modernization in China.

However, in *Weiman shiqi zhongguo dongbei diqu yimin yanjiu* (Study of migration in Northeastern China during the Manchukuo period), Wang Shengjin divides large scale Russian migration into China into three stages starting from 1858 to the Russian Revolution of 1917: “(1) ‘people who dug for gold’ ; (2) migration resulting from the construction of the China Eastern Railway and its management after 1897; and (3) migration of survivors from the Tsarist regime exiled after the Russian Revolution of 1917.”⁵¹ During the first stage, diverse groups of Russians came to China such as “Cossacks, miners, fugitives, retired soldiers, evangelists, merchants, Siberian native peoples, and jobless vagrants.”⁵² After the establishment of Manchukuo in 1932, especially after Japan purchased the Chinese Eastern Railway from Russia in 1935, the population of Russian migration in this region decreased day by day, and most of the railway workers and their families returned to Russia.⁵³ In

⁵⁰Vladimir Shlapentokh, Munir Sendich, and Emil Payin, eds., *The New Russian Diaspora: Russian Minorities in the Former Soviet Republics* (Armonk, NY and London: M.E Sharpe, 1994), 6-16.

⁵¹Wang Shengjin, *Weiman shiqi zhongguo dongbei diqu yimin yanjiu- jianlun riben diguozhuyi shishi de yimin qinlue* (Study of migration in Northeastern China during the Manchukuo period - with the discussion of migration invasion enacted by Japanese imperialism) (Beijing: Zhongguo shehuikexue chubanshe, 2005), 134-135.

⁵²Ibid., 135.

⁵³According to Louise Young, this is related to Stalin’s preoccupation with internal, social issues such as “agricultural collectivization, the five-year plans, and purging the party,” so the Russian government sold off the Chinese Eastern Railway in 1935. Young, *Japan’s Total Empire*, 47. Specifically 6,238

contrast to Wang Shengjin who claims the Russian population decreased after 1932, The *Manchuria Almanac* of 1936 in fact shows that it increased. Exiled Russians first came to Northern Manchuria, fleeing the Russian Revolution of 1917. Scores of White Russians who could not endure the Soviets' suppression crossed the border and became naturalized, and thus the Russian population increased after 1932; however, the economic and material bases for their livelihood were unstable. These White Russians, who settled along northern railways, engaged in agricultural activities such as husbandry, apiculture, growing orchards, picking wild berries, etc., although about three thousand railway workers involved in Communism went back to Russia in June of 1935.⁵⁴ An article about White Russians' celebration of the New Year from the *Binjiang Daily Newspaper* in February of 1940 also demonstrates that their immigration communities were still largely connected to the railways, particularly in Harbin, even after 1935. Harbin was one of the largest cities where Russian immigrant formed communities, and it is the principal narrative space in which most stories I will address in chapter two are set.⁵⁵ According to the *Binjiang* article, the quality of Russians' lives improved as more Russians joined them and they established communities, in that like the White Russians who worked for the Harbin railway, they came to be treated better and the government of Manchukuo encouraged them to have part time jobs.⁵⁶

It is not my intention to critically review the accuracies, inaccuracies and authenticity of these sources here, since they are the product of the authors' points of

workers and 14,397 of their family members. Ibid., 139. Shi Fang notes that 20,535 Russians returned to their home country until August of 1935. Before this deportation, the Japanese arrested 20 staff members of the C.E.R. on the charge of "denying Manchukuo and resisting Japan." Shi Fang, Liu Shuang, and Gao Ling, *Harbin eqiaoshi* (A history of Harbin's immigrant Russians) (Harbin: Heilongjiang renmin chubanshe, 2003), 86-87.

⁵⁴*Manshū nenkan* (The Manchurian Almanac) (Tairen [Dalina]: Manshū nichinichi shimbunsha, 1936), 528-529.

⁵⁵They mostly lived in Sanhe, Anda, Halaer, Manzhouli, Harbin, Suifehe, and Yimianpo, etc. "Harbin shi baie renmin de xinchun" (White Russians' new year in Harbin), *Binjiang ribao* (Binjiang daily newspaper), February 2, 1940.

⁵⁶*Binjiang Daily Newspaper*, February 5, 1940.

view serving their particular agendas. I have selected four short stories representing hybridity, and in only one of them, “Hunxue’ r” (Mixed-blood children) by Shi Jun, does depict the family engage in ranching, one of the actual main occupations of Russians as stated in the *Manchurian Almanac*.⁵⁷ In this regard, this story can more or less serve a lens through which to look at the movement of the Russian population and their migratory life at the time. “Kaosuofu de toufa” (Kaosuofu’s hair) by Luo Feng depicts a half-Chinese, half-Russian boy, whose Chinese father is a carpenter, and “Pixie” (A pair of leather shoes) by Ku Tu describes a half-Chinese, half-Russian girl, whose Chinese father is a thief.⁵⁸ The Chinese writers depict the subordination of Russians and racial hybrids to the Chinese, a prominent leitmotif in their stories. Even other these stories, the authors typify the images of Russians; except for soldiers, the most dominant characters in the stories are prostitutes and prisoners, marginalized characters in society.⁵⁹ Although the author of the fourth story, Shu Qun represents a female Russian teacher and her Russian and Chinese students in “Children without a Homeland,” the images of the characters are stereotypical to some degree in that the

⁵⁷Shi Jun, “Hunxu’er” (Mixed-blood children), *Qingnian wenhua* (Culture of the youth) 1.1(1943):107-115. I purposely have selected the word “mixed-blood” to emphasize the meaning of the original Chinese word.

⁵⁸Luo Feng, *Luo Feng wenji* (Anthology of Luo Feng) (Shenyang: Chunfeng wenyi chubanshe, 1983), 14-27. Ku Tu, “Pixie” (A pair of leather shoes), *Mingming* (Gateway) 1.5 (1937): 60-64.

⁵⁹One of Shu Qun’s main concerns is to present foreigners’ life in Manchuria. “Duhanshen” (A Single Man) depicts a romance between a French white woman and an African American man. “Linjia” (Neighbor) and “Wu guoji de renmen” (People without Nationality) portrays a Korean prostitute in a house also rented by a Chinese man and a Russian prostitute in a prison cell. “Hai de bi an” (The Other Shore of the Sea) delineates a Korean male revolutionary. “Jian shang” (On a Naval Vessel) recounts Russian (*Sulian*) soldiers and refugees and “Songhuajiang de zhiliu” (A Branch of the Songhua River) describes Chinese soldiers who serve Manchukuo. Shu Qun, *Shu Qun wenji 1* (Works of Shu Qun, Vol.1) (Shenyang: Chunfeng wenyi chubanshe, 1984), 3-309. Luo Feng’s short story, “Meng he waitao” (Prison and a Coat), depicts Russian prisoners, whose occupations are a prostitute and a thief. Luo Feng, *Luo Feng wenji* (Anthology of Luo Feng), (Shenyang: Chunfeng wenyi chubanshe, 1983), 137-143. According to a biography of Shu Qun, he was imprisoned in Qingdao in the fall of 1933 because he was a member of the Chinese Communist Party. *Dongbei xiandai wenxue shiliao* (Historical materials of modern Northeast Chinese literature), ed. Liaoning Academy of Social Sciences Institute of Literature, 2 (April 1980):114-115. Therefore, it is conceivable that the stories written while he was in prison were in part written on the basis of his own life experiences.

Russians take care of the poor Korean cowherd by giving him free food.⁶⁰ And in all the stories, despite the fact that a variety of Russian people with different backgrounds and many sorts of business came to Manchuria, the Chinese authors had to present their social status as impoverished and powerless in order to secure Chinese superiority over the Russians in the narrative, participating in the construction of a hierarchical race structure, a narrative foundation for establishing the primacy of Chinese nationality over the stateless exiles. Thus, the selection and representation of particular groups' images do not reflect the reality of immigrant communities as much as reflect the Chinese writers' desire to embody Chinese nationality; the Chinese writers took scrupulous care to pick out images of exiled foreigners' destitution, abject living conditions, and their alterity from particular segments and events set in asymmetrical race relations. This exactly demonstrates that race is constructed and constituted through interaction with the Other, and the positioning of foreigners is a central point in the mechanism of the production of race that is historically contingent upon social conditions.⁶¹ Manchukuo's changing management of the category of the five races including or excluding Russians and their deportation to the U.S.S.R. show that they were situated at the heart of the processes of racial and social formations inside and outside the boundary of the state.

Who are the "Five Races?" Policy of the Harmony of the "Five Races"

Scholars in both Chinese and Japanese studies have disputed the composition of the five races. Most scholars, with the exception of Dan Shao, define the five races

⁶⁰Chinese writers employed this similar patterning of images of the people in depicting immigrant Koreans. Aside from translators, a manager, also called a traitor, and revolutionaries, the primary Korean characters in the Chinese stories are orphans or homeless children, children of tenants, tenants, or prostitutes, all of whom are subordinated to the Chinese majority as a stateless people. I come back to this issue in the section of representations of Koreans in Chinese literature, chapter three of my dissertation.

⁶¹Thomas H. Eriksen, *Ethnicity and Nationalism: Anthropology, Culture and Society* (London: Pluto Press, 2002), 12-13, 174.

as [Han] Chinese, Manchus, Mongols, Japanese, and Koreans.⁶² Dan Shao argues that “Manchus and four other groups (Japanese, Mongols, Hui, and Koreans) were defined as equal in Manzhouguo [Manchukuo].”⁶³ However, Kawamura Minato pays attention to representations of Russians in the Japanese literature of Manchukuo, and contends that as far as depictions of children in literature are concerned, Japanese authors in Manchukuo included White Russians, together with the five races mentioned above, in fictional works written in Japanese.⁶⁴ Olga Bakich also argues that initially the Japanese regarded immigrant Russians as one of the five races; soon afterwards, starting in March, 1932, they were blackened out from posters that had included Russians as one of the five races and then disappeared from posters altogether.⁶⁵ Kanazawa Masayasu’s definition of the five races in the early 1940s also affirms Olga’s view. He states that the five races refer to “Manchus, the Han, Mongolians, the

⁶²Young, 287; Zhong Tian, “Manzhouguo chengli yu minzhu xiehe” (The establishment of Manchukuo and the harmony of the nation), *Xin qingnian* (The new youth) 67 (October 1937): 15; Shiga Masharu, *Minzoku mondai to kokkyō <kannihonkai>no mukō gishi* (Nation problem and border: a shore across the Northwest Pacific Region) (Tokyo: Kenbun shuppansha, 1994), 138; Kawamura Minato, *Bungaku kara miru Manshū gozoku kyōwa no yume to genjitsu* (Dream and reality of Harmony of “Five Races” of Manchuria from literature) (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1998), 7. According to the State-Founding Proclamation, the “five races” were “Han, Manchu, and Mongolian peoples who were originally from this region and the Japanese and Koreans—that is, people from other lands. . . .” Yamamuro Shinn’ichi, *Manchuria Under Japanese Dominion*, trans. Joshua A. Fogel, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), 89. Even if the state defined the five races as such, governmental and cultural organizations represented them in different ways. Moreover, Pu Yi’s speech exemplifies a way in which the state used equivocal rhetoric to announce racial harmony without defining the five races.

⁶³Shao, *Ethnicity in Empire and Nation*, 101. However, the author’s definition of the five races is somewhat misleading and contradictory in that Han, Manchus, Mongols, Japanese and Koreans as the five races are cited in his discussion of the national flag of Manchukuo without any critical review. Ibid., 113.

⁶⁴He specifies the five races with the accurate terms: “*kanzoku* (Chinese), *nihonzoku* (Japanese), *manshūzoku* (*joshinzoku*), *chōsenzoku* (Korean), and *mōkozoku* (Mongols).” Ibid. ‘White Russians’ refers to non-communists; given the diversity of population in the history of Russian migration into China, they are not all politically Red. Despite this fact, this term has been used to refer to immigrant Russians in China at that time. Thus, I have followed this convention in translating this term, and it does not mean racially white here. ‘White Russians’ refers to non-communists; given the diversity of population in the history of Russian migration into China, they are not all politically Red. Despite this fact, this term has been used to refer to immigrant Russians in China at that time. Thus, I have followed this convention in translating this term, and it does not mean racially white here. Ibid., 28. Since Korean writers also wrote fictional works in Japanese in Manchuria, I have put it in this way.

⁶⁵Bakich, 62. However, the author’s source information is incomplete, from footnote 28: “*Answering Questions on Manchuria*” (Tokyo: 1937), 3. Ibid., 73.

Japanese, and the Koreans and do not include Slavic people (Russians) and other white people.”⁶⁶

Judging from these sources, the five races are the Han, Manchus, Mongols, Japanese, and Koreans, though Russians were originally included as one of the five races. Although the government removed Russians from the category of the five races, Japanese authors in Manchukuo often depicted White Russians as part of the five races. Moreover, the number of works representing Russians in the Chinese language of Manchukuo is even greater. These works describe Russians as a people without a nation or nationality and include racial hybrids from interracial marriages of Chinese and Russians. Images which represent the policy of racial harmony include Russians as one of the five races or a sixth major race or population, which I will show in a later part of this chapter. Thus, there is a wide range of ambiguities and disparities in the definitions of the subjects of the five races in scholarship, how peoples are represented and define themselves and interact with other races in reality, and in cultural production at that time and the present time. Even more important, the uncertainty about the categorical makeup of the five races suggests that race is not a unifying and invariant entity ascribed to biological and physical characteristics but is subject to a changing social and historical context in which the process of its placement *per se* is also part of generating meaning. Race is a “historical product of the confluence of ideas, events, and processes;”⁶⁷ the concept of race and its meaning emerges and is imagined and constructed at specific, historical junctures.

According to Louise Young, the slogan of racial harmony originated in the Manchurian Youth League and it proposes “*minzoku kyōwa* (racial harmony),”

⁶⁶Kanazawa Masayasu, “Manshū kokuseki teigen” (Suggestions on the Legislations of the Law of Nationality in Manchukuo, title translation in the original text), *Waseda Law Review* 21 (1942): 6. He also notes that due to Manchus’ assimilation into the Han culture, they fell under the same category as the Han, so in fact the five races were four races.

⁶⁷Alejandra Bronfman, *Measures of Equality: Social Science, Citizenship, and Race in Cuba, 1902-1940* (Chapel Hill and London: The University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 5.

recognizing the multiracial nature of the polity of Manchukuo and the importance of cooperation among the “five races.”⁶⁸ Its motto affects the development of other social organizations carrying out the policy of racial harmony, such as the Concord Association, as well as the state.⁶⁹ However, Kawamura Minato and Shiga Masharu both note that the slogan is derived from Sun Yat-sen’s “*gozoku*,” referring to the Han, Tibetans, Manchus, the Hui, and Mongols under the actual conditions in which *minzoku* and nation are considered in the modern era.⁷⁰ It is evident that the Japanese were the leading citizens in Manchukuo, as were the Han people in the Chinese Republic (1911-1927).⁷¹ Sun’s Pan-Asianism had a great impact on Japanese intellectuals’ political thinking, particularly on Tachibana Shiraki, the editor of *Manshū hyōron* (*The Manchurian Review*), whose role and influence were crucial in policy making in Manchukuo.⁷² Dan Shao points out that the adoption of this policy is

⁶⁸Young, *Japan’s Total Empire*, 286-287. For Chinese intellectuals’ reception of this policy at that time, see Zhong Tian’s article and Yun Qun, “Jiuyiba yu yazhou renzhong zhi xingyun” (The Manchurian Incident and the good fortune of the Asian race), *Xin qingnian* (The new youth) 62 (1937): 21-26.

⁶⁹Young, 287.

⁷⁰Kawamura, *Bungaku kara miru Manshū gozoku kyōwa no yume to genjitsu*, 8-9. Shiga, *Minzoku mondai to kokkyō <kannihonkai>no mukō gishi*, 138. Kawamura notes that the term “harmony” is recast from the word “republic,” which has an image of the republic political system and its nation as conceived by Sun; he designed the Chinese Republic as a multiracial nation aiming for coexistence and co-prosperity of each ethnic group. Kawamura, 9.

⁷¹Shiga, 138. Kawamura, 7. Dan Shao’s study offers a more detailed account of the employment of Sun Yat-sen’s idea by the Manchukuo regime and its dissemination chiefly conducted by the Concord Association (*Kyōwakai*). In Dan Shao’s view, the slogan “Expel barbarians, Restore China” was designed to topple the Manchu rule before the 1919 and then is adopted to mobilize the Chinese as a basis for nation building. The author defines this as a Chinese model and explains three main factors of the Manchukuo government’s recourse to it. Racial issues and the resolution of state conflicts become central to both Manchukuo and the Chinese Republic as newly formed nations. Shao, 109.

⁷²Louise Young accounts for this in detail: according to the author, sinologists and socialists project their utopian visions onto China and other colonies to be reformed as agents of modernity. In the meantime, journals particularly dealing with problems of China and Manchuria were published in the 1930s. *Manshū hyōron* (The Manchurian Review) and *Manshū gurafu* (Photo Manchuria) are representative magazines among them. Tachibana Shiraki was a convert (*tenkōsha*) as well as the editor of *Manshū hyōron* (The Manchurian Review). As a Marxist sinologist, he supported the Chinese national movement and the state’s policy of Manchoukuo sincerely and fervently, unlike other leftist sinologists who pretend to believe in the official state ideology and put it into practice for continuing their public life, called “disguised conversion” (*gisō tenkō*). Ibid., 277. In particular, the harmony of “five races” (*gozoku kyōwa*) is one of his focal points that can liberate Chinese masses from landlords’ exploitation, Japanese imperialism, and the region’s degradation caused by Zhang Xueliang. Soon after, however, he notices that there is an apparently unbridgeable gulf between the use of rhetoric of racial policies in theory and their enactment in practice, thus this leads him to criticism of how the state

best understood in terms of Manchukuo's relationship with the Nanjing government; they were in a rivalry with each other, with Manchukuo attempting to render itself as an independent state as its competitor.⁷³

As shown above, except for Bakich, the previous studies on Manchukuo take the category of the five races for granted, though their definitions are slightly different. In addition, they all overlook how law, which is the most fundamental and powerful source for ruling people and society, defines and regulates national subjects, a deplorable lack of scholarly attention to law and regulations on race and nationality in Manchukuo.⁷⁴

ideology and policies are actually enforced and practiced in *The Manchurian Review*. However critical this journal may have been, it was not until he was arrested that he remained supportive of the state in the wholesale arrest of liberals and leftists in 1942 and 1943. Young, 268-277.

⁷³Shao, 108-112. Scholars have also elaborated on unequal treatment of the "five races" in reality, revealing that the policy was not viable due to the society's racial hierarchy. Kawamura Minato's study delineates the limitations of the policy that merely served as an ideology as well as the racial discrimination arising from the dimensions of physiology and emotion, as represented in the Japanese literature of Manchukuo. Kawamura Minato, 33-36. Han Suk-Jung examines Japanese and Koreans' legal status as foreigners and challenges the existing views on Koreans' role as mediators/middle men; he argues that they were in fact subordinated to the Chinese majority in the racial structure of the state among the Chinese, the Japanese, and Koreans. Han Suk-Jung, "Manjuguküi minjok hyöngsönggwa oerae köryuminüi sahoejök wich'i kwanhan yön'gu- chosönin gwa ilbonin üi kyöngwu" (Nation-building of Early Manchukuo and the Status of Alien Settlers: Koreans and Japanese, translation in the original), *Han'guk sahoehak* (Korean Journal of Sociology) 31 (Winter 1997):851. However, he has primarily used the government's official records (*Manchukuo zhengfu gongbao*), so there may be a gap between how law defined and categorized people and how law was enacted in administrative organizations. Moreover, his approach to Koreans' status is based on a quantitative model; thus the result is preconditioned by the method, in that national subjects of Manchukuo actually referred to the Chinese, who made 95 percent of the whole population of the state, according to the author.

⁷⁴Hyun Ok Park examines the problem of Koreans' dual nationality before and after 1932. Before the Manchukuo period, Koreans maintained dual nationality as naturalized Chinese or Koreans/ Japanese in both China and Korea. With regard to landownership, their status was under control of the Chinese Northeast Government, the Japanese Asia Development Company, and Japan. After the establishment of Manchukuo in 1932, Koreans became members of Manchukuo, but at the same time they had to enroll in the family registration system in Korea and they were still under the control of the Government General of Korea. Park, *Two Dreams in One Bed*, 41-82, 137-139. Sun Chunri, a Korean Chinese scholar, addresses the dual national status of Koreans before 1932 and points out that there were two conditions for them to be naturalized. He maintains that Koreans were no better than a people without nationality in that the Chinese government forced them to submit Japanese documents of nationality issued in Japan, which in fact were never issued, and to pay an enormous amount of fees to receive Chinese nationality. Sun Chunri *Haebangjön, tongbuk chosönjok toji kwan'gyesa yön'gu* (Study on the history of Northeast Korean Chinese's land relations before liberation) (Changchun: Jilin renmin chubanshe, 2001), 155-165.

Laws and Regulations of Race and Nationality in Family Registration in Manchukuo

Objective of Implanting Stipulations of Family Registration

Strikingly, the law of family registration in Manchukuo was not established until at least the time when the text introduced here was published in 1937.⁷⁵ According to this text, the original stipulations created in 1934 and amended in the same year have equal force as law and function as law.⁷⁶ The introduction to the article of nationality and family registration explicitly states the objective of the stipulations.

1. The mission of this stipulation

This stipulation is preliminary material with which to prepare for police activity which has many objectives; inspectors not only observe and know the static and dynamic status of the population, but they also thoroughly know the living status of residents within their areas of jurisdiction. This becomes basic material for public order and security. This census report (*huji diaocha bu*, *koseki chōsa bo*) serves as a substitute for a family register (*huji bu*) during the transition period in which Manchukuo had not enacted laws of family registration. The significant mission of the provision is to establish the extent to which certifications of residence or identification are issued. These inspections are the bases for issuing residential status and identification for applicants who want to prove their residential status.⁷⁷

It was not until 1937 that Manchukuo legislated the above family registration law and its stipulations were equated with law. The law presents the primary, controlling apparatus of the state as the police, who had the immense authority to regulate and control the status of people and their movement through the family registration

⁷⁵I translate *huji* (*koseki*) as “household,” since household includes servants and any inhabitants living in a family together. The text introduced here also states that they must be reported in a household registration, together with other family members. Guowuyuan fazhiju, *Manzhouguo faling jilan* (Series of laws and regulations of Manchukuo) (Xinjing [Changchun]: Manzhou xingzheng xuehui, 1937), 831. However, there was no particular section for making an entry for them in the registration form. Ibid., 835-837. Moreover, the household includes family and thus family is a fundamental unit in governing household registration. I am focusing on family in the household registration system; thus, I have translated *huji* into ‘family registration’ here.

⁷⁶Ibid., 829.

⁷⁷Ibid.

system. Thereafter, the family became the fundamental unit of rule and the structure of the family based on heterosexual, conjugal relations by marriage determined the ways in which the state categorized people.⁷⁸ The inspection was carried out on a regular basis, every six months for ‘normal’ people, whereas it was done at least one time per month for certain groups of people who needed special attention.⁷⁹ Along with the inspection, the state implemented the stipulations of the family registration system with a census in a way that police observations of people’s status, including all social life and relations such as population, birth, death, occupation, etc., and their status and movement were reported regularly and as statistics. The family as a basic unit of inspection and report was controlled by “the instruments of statecraft,” and became a legible object to be governed more directly.⁸⁰ James Scott defines this as the state’s simplification and standardization of measures, and this process inevitably entails the reduction of complex social relations and abstraction of reality into legible and schematic categories. By rendering society legible and standardized, the state exerts more direct power and rule onto its subjects for taxation, conscription, and other

⁷⁸There have been debates on how to define marriage in Europe and the U.S. . Carole Pateman traces the changing formulations of marriage in terms of contract and status that were presented by William Thompson, Kant, Hegel, Hobbes, and feminists of the time and adds contemporary feminists’ critical responses to these ideas. For more detailed discussion, see Carole Pateman, *The Sexual Contract* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988), 154-188.

⁷⁹There are eighteen stipulations: 1. anarchists, communists, socialists, and people with radical ideology; 2. people who are anti Manchukuo; 3. people who are prone to being radical and behave and speak violently with regard to politics, current events, and labor; 4. people who are in delicacy of health and are seized with pessimism; 5. defrauders who suppress other people using violence and demand money and goods; 6. people who are on probation, parolees, released violators of the minor offense acts, and ex-convicts; 7. Suspected criminals; 8. people who are engaged in writing for someone else privately and loaning and issuing credit at compound interest; 9. suspects who abduct women or wander and attempt to go as a stowaway; 10. People who are gamblers or suspects of habitual gambling; 11. people who usually speak and behave violently and radically; 12. juvenile delinquents, males and females; 13. people who disturb other families; 14. People who are dissipated and lascivious; 15. people who suddenly become indigent or who suddenly become affluent; 16. opium smokers or smugglers of opium or people who come under those suspicion; 17. people who engage in prostitution in secret and mediate and accept it or who are suspected of these activities; 18. people who agitate and disturb the minds of the people with false rumors. Ibid., 830-831. I do not dwell on this further here and present it as a source for understanding the basic prerequisites to become ‘normal’ nationals in Manchukuo.

⁸⁰James C. Scott, *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve Human Conditions Have Failed* (New Haven, London: Yale University Press, 1998), 343.

ends.⁸¹ The ultimate goal of legislating stipulations of family registration in Manchukuo was to enable the police to issue identification cards for its nationals. The implementation of those provisions was the process of simplifying and standardizing the identities of people and their social life and relations for state needs and control. The family registration was the principal state apparatus and technology of control for administrative organizations to “exercise many statelike functions” in order to govern people directly and systematically.⁸² In doing so, divisions, categorizations, and classifications emerged out of this schematic plan to transform society and state into effective, legible, and governable entities.⁸³

Law of Human Rights and Classifications of Peoples

Manchukuo established a law of human rights consisting of thirteen articles, and Article Three guaranteed the equality of the people without regard to race and religion:

⁸¹Scott, *Seeing Like a State*, 77. Benedict Anderson also maintains that the primary function of census lay in the “systematic *quantification*” rather than in racial classifications in Southeast Asia in the 1870s. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London, New York: Verso, 1991), 168. Men in Manchukuo who are over 17 years old and lose nationality ought to prove their status of compulsory military service. *Manzhouguo faling jilan* (Series of laws and regulations of Manchukuo), 874.

⁸²Ibid., 79. There are three administrative organizations dealing with procedures of family registration law: the police, reclamation organizations, and the police of the borders. *Manzhouguo faling jilan* (Series of laws and regulations of Manchukuo), 976. The implementation of law varied in reality, depending on how these organizations applied it to people and practiced it.

⁸³According to Anderson, categories and subcategories in census were always imagined and invented by colonial states, displaying a shift from “rank and status” to racial classifications. Anderson, 167. Although people who were classified into certain racial categories by the colonial state in Southeast Asia would not necessarily recognize themselves as exactly the same as those names, their racial identities are imposed by the census, especially *Chinezen* [the Chinese], since every aspect of their social life could be determined by governmental categorizations. Ibid., 165-168. Thus, census in a way constructs one’s racial identity by placing one person into a racial category to lead a social life according to the very category he/she belongs to. The case of Russians in Manchukuo, however, suggests that an unclassified people in the census can be categorized through the social and visual imagination of race in practice.

The people of Manchukuo are equally blessed with the protection of *equality* by the state regardless of *race* and religion (emphasis added).⁸⁴

Human rights law implies a ground in liberal universalism, what Uday Mehta calls “an anthropological minimum or an anthropological common denominator.”⁸⁵ Mehta explains, “it is a minimum and therefore common to all[:] the normative claims that derive from this minimum are common to all and therefore universal in their applicability.[*sic*]”⁸⁶ In principle, national subjects of Manchukuo were equal without respect to their racial origin and were impartially protected by the law. The legal lexicon is indicative of the inclusive nature of the state law and purports to be in the interest of equality. However, at the same time, inclusion is intrinsically bound up with exclusion, one inseparable from the other, on account of the nature of their mutual interdependence as well as their relative correlation and interconnection.⁸⁷ The status of the people who are included can be identified by the status of people who are excluded by virtue of dialectic relations between inclusion and exclusion. This apparently contradictory yet correlative nature is reflected in institutional and legal arrangements of people through categorizations and classifications. People who are

⁸⁴Diguo difang xingzheng xuehui (Association of local administration of the empire), *Manzhouguo liufu quanshu* (Collection of six laws of Manchukuo) (Xinjing [Changchun]: Diguo difang xingzheng xuehui, 1933), 9.

⁸⁵Uday S. Mehta, “Liberal Strategies of Exclusion,” in *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World*, ed. Frederick Cooper and Ann L. Stoler (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1997), 63. According to the author, the word “anthropological” is used exclusively in a literal sense, referring to the study of human beings. 82.

⁸⁶Mehta, “Liberal Strategies of Exclusion,” 63.

⁸⁷I use the terms, inclusion and exclusion borrowing from Agamben’s discussion of the logic of sovereignty and its paradoxical nature, defined as the inclusive exception, exclusion, and use them in the general sense as well. He argues that sovereignty is constituted with the existence of *homo sacer* (sacred men), in the state of exception in which bare life is situated in a zone of indistinction between fact and law and considers the state of exception as a paradigm of modernity and modern government. In his view, the paradox of sovereignty lies in that it itself is “*at the same time* [emphasis in the original] outside and inside the juridical order” through the structure of exception. Agamben, *Homo Sacer*, 15. I follow his conceptualization of the logic of sovereignty and apply it to the discussion of the logic of inclusion and exception in the operation of law in Manchukuo generally and theoretically. Russians’ political status as refugees in Manchukuo and the significance of their exclusion in law in terms of the biopolitics of bare, natural life and the law of human rights will be discussed in detail in a later part of this chapter.

included in a certain category can be defined in relation to people who are excluded from that category. Therefore, the inclusive nature of law for equality is at once rooted in the exclusive nature of it.

The methods of recording the status of the people who were equal and included in the state of Manchukuo clearly reveal how the inclusive nature of law is founded upon exclusionary social divisions and is enforced by and through them. Concerning the entry of an individual's racial origin, Article Four states that the inhabitant's domicile of origin (*jiguan*; in Japanese, *genseki*), which in the case of foreigners corresponds to nationality, as well as birthplace, current address, race, occupation, age, surnames, and given names must all be listed in the left column of the form of the family register; all of these items are written in the above order with male heads of household listed first.⁸⁸ The police had to compile and report all these entries as statistics every year at the end of December and then submitted in March of the next year to the minister of the Department of Civil Administration.⁸⁹ The form enumerates the names of races together with an entry for the total of racial origins: Han, Manchu, Mongolian, Hui, Japanese, Korean people, foreign people, and the total. This formed the table of current family registration.⁹⁰ However, all of the above categories of people were rearranged so as to fall in the category of peoples in the table of the population by racial origins and nationality. The table had sections for Manchuria (*Manzhou*), Japan, Europe and America, stateless status, and the total.⁹¹ The section for Manchuria had subcategories for Han, Manchu, Hui, and others.⁹² The section for

⁸⁸*Manzhouguo faling jilan* (Series of laws and regulations of Manchukuo), 832.

⁸⁹*Ibid.*, 834.

⁹⁰*Ibid.*, 841.

⁹¹*Manzhou* can be translated into Manchukuo here, but the column also has a section for Japan composed of the Japanese and Koreans in Manchukuo, so I have translated it into Manchuria.

⁹²Benedict Anderson observes that the existence of the subcategory of 'Others' demonstrates everyone must be put into a category without exceptions. Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 166.

Japan was subdivided into Japanese and Korean and others.⁹³ The section for Europe and America listed Russia, Poland, England, America, France, Italy, and others.⁹⁴

As introduced above, the government of Manchukuo reclassified race based on origin of state and the placement of the state in the Japanese Empire. Taiwan Chinese were excluded from the category of Japan. Likewise, Immigrant Russians with the nationality of Manchukuo were excluded from the category of Manchukuo. Given the actual population of Russians and large numbers of representations of immigrant Russians and hybridity in discourse, visual and literary texts, the exclusion of Russians is an exceptional case.⁹⁵ It can be inferred that Russians in the territory of Manchukuo were highly likely to be put into the columns of the “others” or “being stateless.”⁹⁶ Yun Qun’s article “The Manchurian Incident and the Good Fortune of the Asian Race” differentiates Russians from immigrant Russians in Manchukuo. Yun Qun characterizes the former, as a nation, as “Russians’ craftiness,” and differentiates them from the Russians in Manchukuo who are identified as a stateless people.”⁹⁷ As a result of their status of being stateless, they experienced hardship and led a nomadic life. Since the establishment of Manchukuo, they also acquired the nationality of

⁹³It states that Japanese and Koreans are classified into the category of Japan, not as being “alien settlers,” proposed by Han Suk-Jung. They are also included in the category of Manchukuo people when they are classified according to race in the state. There is evidence that the law of Japan’s nationality can be applied to Japanese living in Manchukuo at that time. The text introduced here has a particular section “regarding special cases in which people to whom the law of Japanese family registration applies but living in Manchukuo make reports according to temporary regulations and laws of family registration.” *Manzhouguo faling jilan* (Series of laws and regulations of Manchukuo), 943. However, I do not intend to delve into the legal status of the Japanese in Manchukuo here.

⁹⁴Ibid., 844.

⁹⁵According to the *Manchuria Almanac* of 1936, there were more than 80, 000 Russians at that time. *Manshū nenkan*, 528-529. According to statistics of “Compositions of race in Manchukuo,” there were 70,000 Russians in Manchoukuo at that time. “Manzhouguo renzhong zhi goucheng” (Compositions of race in Manchukuo), *Xin qingnian* (The new youth) vol. 84 (February 1939): 13.

⁹⁶Bakich points out that according to the Sino-Soviet agreements, signed in 1924, only people with Soviet and Chinese citizenship were qualified to be employed by the Chinese Eastern Railway, which forced Russians in Harbin to apply for and acquire Soviet or Chinese citizenship in the warlord Zhang Zuoling’s regime. But they were defined as Russian émigrés in Chinese passports and some remained stateless. Russians who returned to the U.S.S.R. from Harbin in the mid-1930s were defined as “re-emigrant” or were regarded as “a separate nationality” like “Poles, Latvians, Germans, or Chinese” Bakich, 57-61.

⁹⁷Yun, “Jiuyiba yu yazhou renzhong zhi xingyun,” 21.

Manchukuo so that they were protected by law and received equal treatment.⁹⁸ However, Russians with the nationality of Manchukuo are not classified as a distinctive racial group in the stipulations of family registration in Manchukuo. At first glance, this implies, on the one hand, that Russians are not the object of government controlled population movement because of their small numbers compared to other races; on the other hand, however, the exclusion of Russians illustrates the legal and social mechanisms in which exclusion and inclusion are mutually exclusive in that they can exist outside the realm of the law; but at the same time, they can be included at any time when necessary by turning uncategorized “others” into an object for use and control by the state. In the case of immigrant Russians in the cultural production of Manchukuo, they function as visible others and objects to be seen in popular images and the statistical representation of race, thereby adding racial and cultural diversity to the composition of the state’s population.

Acquisition and Loss of Nationality

The temporary law of family registration was issued as an imperial edict in 1940 and Provision Thirteen in Chapter Three, “Report,” is on acquisition and loss of nationality.⁹⁹ According to Article 106, foreigners who acquire the nationality of Manchukuo through adoption or marriage are to be sure to note their original nationality.¹⁰⁰ Article 107 states that foreigners who acquire the nationality of Manchukuo through adoption are required to record the original nationality of their children and their mothers’ nationality. The subject reporting the loss of nationality must be the head of the family and he is required to make an entry of the change

⁹⁸Ibid., 23.

⁹⁹This text was published in 1937, but it clearly states that this temporary, imperial edict was issued on August 1 of 1940 and the edict number is 197. *Manzhouguo faling jilan* (Series of laws and regulations of Manchukuo), 849. It is probable that the original was published in 1937 and then this part was added, since the book was bound with a leather strap when I reviewed it.

¹⁰⁰Ibid., 873-874.

within a month after he knows about it. The same rule applies to those who retrieve their nationality, and they must report their intent. The temporary edict on the nationality of Manchukuo contains an important legal code for recovering nationality in terms of gender and includes a significant, though perhaps limited, implication. Wives and children who do not take the nationality of their husband or father when he has recovered it must report the reason. The report of recovery of nationality has to be submitted within a month; therefore, women and children who do not follow the husband or father's nationality have the freedom to make a decision about their nationality during this time.¹⁰¹ Although the state imposes a time limit upon these dependants of the head of family, the law does not prescribe that women and children must follow the nationality of the head of the family.

The rules above exclusively apply to foreigners as they pursue acquisition of the nationality of Manchukuo. As for the people of Manchukuo, the temporary law of family registration does not specify whether nationality is based on *jus soli*, territorial principle, or on *jus sanguinis*, right of blood. Ogami Masao notes:

As for the regulations of nationality in Manchukuo, the state lacks fundamental law, nor does the state have a special law about nationality, and neither has the Law of Family Registration been legislated. Therefore, without a law of nationality to stipulate law and regulation, there is no choice but to decide nationality through fact. Thus, people who live in the territory of Manchukuo and take it as a basis for their livelihood are all entitled to become the people of Manchukuo. Needless to say, people with foreign nationality cannot make exceptions.¹⁰²

According to Masao, having the nationality of Manchukuo is entirely contingent upon the person's making Manchukuo the basis of livelihood; the individual's physical presence in the territory of Manchukuo and engagement with economic activity are

¹⁰¹Ibid., 874-875.

¹⁰²Ogami Masao, *Manshūkoku kihonhō taikō* (Outline of principal laws of Manchukuo), trans. Guo Jikai (Tokyo: Ikubunsha, 1941), 95.

prerequisites for becoming a national of Manchukuo and acquiring its nationality. He further puts forth his views on legislating laws of nationality and family registration.

When it comes to legislating a law of nationality, the acquisition of nationality, i.e., with regard to adopting *jus sanguini*, acquiring nationality by birth, or *jus soli*, becomes an issue that must be considered extremely carefully. Therefore, the Chinese Republic has hitherto established a principle of *jus sanguini* and adopted *jus soli* complementarily (Article One, promulgated on February 5, *Minguo* 18, [1929]). The purpose of stating this article is that the legislation of family registration (*huji fa*) and nationality is close at hand. Thus, as other laws and systems are completed simultaneously, they must be modified and addressed.¹⁰³

Noting the fact that the legislation of laws of nationality and family registration was imminent, Masao took into account the importance of the methods of adopting two principles, *jus sanguini* and *jus soli*, in Manchukuo.¹⁰⁴ That is to say, if the state adopted *jus sanguini*, an individual's nationality could be determined by parental pedigree, but if the state adopted *jus soli*, the individual could automatically acquire the nationality of Manchukuo on the basis of place of birth. Although Masao pointed out the combination of the two in the case of the Chinese Republic, his notion of nationality was grounded in *jus soli* in that the presence of the body and the individual's engagement in economic life were the first and foremost factors to become a national of Manchukuo. Presumably, his version of the meaning of nationality in fact evinces the methods in which temporary laws and stipulations were administrated in reality. A significant inquiry, then, arises from their enactment; how was the hybridity of Russians and Chinese defined by law; how could they acquire nationality; and were they accepted in society?

¹⁰³Ibid., 97.

¹⁰⁴By pointing to the building of bloc villages and the implementation of the *baojia* system, a military garrison, Yamamuro Shin'ichi puts forward a view of one possible reason why the state never enacted a law of nationality as follows. It is because the Japanese in Manchukuo "continued to refuse to separate themselves from Japanese nationality and to take on Manzhouguo nationality. Yamamuro, 208-211.

*Hybridity's Nationality*¹⁰⁵

By examining the ways in which family and family law were structured in detail in the law, the legal practice pertaining to the identification of nationality and its acquisition can be inferred. The fundamental principle of family registration law was founded upon the heterosexual, conjugal union established by marriage, placing male subjects at the center of family. The law did not specifically stipulate the male centrality in forming a family, yet it did specify the meaning of households:

The meaning of the family head and household:

Manchukuo has not implemented the law of family registration yet and thus it does not have the legal terms for it in the standing legislation system. Consequently, a household and a head of a family can be denominated in essence from the observation of the household. A household refers to cohabitants or one person living alone. A house holder in fact refers to a person managing one's household.¹⁰⁶

Seeing from this clarification, a household can be composed of other family members living together or one person only. In the case of the latter, it contains the possibility of forming a family by one sex alone. However, the methods of listing familial relations on the register form and the rules on forming a family through adoption demonstrate males' centrality in the household as representatives of the whole family inherent in the gender hierarchy of family structure. The procedures of noting family registration definitely state that a head of family, a previous head, and family members have to be clarified and they have to be written in order: a head of family, family

¹⁰⁵Studies dealing with this issue have focused on the exclusive nature of laws on nationality enacted in reality. As mentioned in the introduction, in the Southeast Asian context, Ann Stoler concentrates on racial hybridity and interracial relationships between natives and Europeans in colonial Southeast Asia. Ann L. Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002). Lora Wildenthal addresses several cases of the acquisition of German citizenship related to mixed racial marriage from the German colonies before WWI in conjunction with gender. Lora Wildenthal, "Race, Gender, Citizenship in the German Colonial Empire," in *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World*, eds. Frederick Cooper and Ann L. Stoler, (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1997), 263-283.

¹⁰⁶*Manzhouguo faling jilan* (Series of laws and regulations of Manchukuo), 831.

members in a direct line [father's side], and spouses.¹⁰⁷ This codification is applicable to adopting children,¹⁰⁸ thereby reinforcing male centrality in the family structure.

It becomes even more patent that the report of birth is conducted in order of father and mother; a head of family is named first and then father and mother are listed, together with the father's relation to the household and the mother's relation to parents and their racial origins.¹⁰⁹ Thus, the family registration system placed males over females. It is important to point out that the individual's birth report had to be made on the basis of the birth place.¹¹⁰ In this regard, the law of nationality in Manchukuo seems to have been founded upon *jus soli*, but the fraternal blood line had priority over the maternal blood line in making an entry of birth report. In summary, if a person was inside the territory of Manchukuo and engaged in economic activity, that person's children could acquire the nationality of Manchukuo, following the father's nationality with his racial origin. For instance, children of a Chinese father and a Russian mother could obtain the nationality of Manchukuo. It seems unclear, however, that their racial origins were also identified with their fathers' when reporting their birth for the family register; at the same time it is highly likely that they followed the father's racial origins, in that temporary laws and regulations of family registration in Manchukuo did not categorize hybridity as an independent racial group. If a father was Russian and a mother was Chinese, there were two possible determinations for their children's nationality. If the father had Manchukuo nationality through marriage, then, without doubt, children would automatically obtain the same nationality. However, if the father did not have the nationality of Manchukuo, they might have been classified into the category of "others" or "Russians," as foreigners or "being stateless."

¹⁰⁷Ibid., 852-853.

¹⁰⁸Ibid., 865.

¹⁰⁹Ibid., 885.

¹¹⁰Ibid., 863.

Most short stories depicting racial hybridity are set in a family comprised of a Chinese father and a Russian mother; without question, they legally have Manchukuo nationality. Rather than describing hybridity's legal status and the acquisition of Manchukuo nationality, stories grapple with issues of how subjectivity is forged and defined by the dominant group, the Chinese, in the formation of homogeneity of Chinese nationality in practice. In this process, identification with the father or the mother's racial heritage becomes a focal point from which to seek to form a person's social and national identity, while embodying the aporia of unlocatable, 'hybrid' subjectivity. It is common that 'hybrid' characters' ontological significance can only be recognized and accepted as long as they identify themselves with Chinese nationalists, who defend Chinese sovereignty against Japanese imperialism, or identify themselves with similar political positions in the narrative.¹¹¹ As opposed to the racial and political ideal of egalitarianism in the law of human rights, apparently the "inclusive/exclusive" nature of nationality law in fact enmeshes hybridity in inner conflicts of positioning themselves, alongside one racial origin in society. They encounter an unbridgeable gap between what the law defines and signifies and what people actually practice. In other words, law can define a people, who 'we' are, but this does not mean society can accept and include that people defined as a whole as they are.

*Significance of Manchukuo's Laws of Human Rights and Nationality in
Modern Chinese Contexts and Their Relation to the Political Status of
Russians as Exiled*

In sum, the significance of laws of nationality and human rights in Manchukuo can be reviewed in the context in which the concept of citizenship was transformed

¹¹¹Luo Feng significantly describes this theme in "Kaosuofu's Hair." Luo, *Luo Feng wenji*, 14-27.

and developed in China over time.¹¹² According to T. H. Marshall, the concept of citizenship and its meaning changed and went through three transformative stages in Western Europe from the eighteenth to the twentieth centuries. The term “civil citizenship” defined by the author emerged out of the confirmation of “individual rights to property, personal liberty, and justice” in the eighteenth century.¹¹³ Afterwards, it gave way to “political citizenship,” signifying the individual’s right to take part in political activities for empowerment in the eighteenth century. “Social citizenship” became of importance in the twentieth century for ensuring social security and a material basis for wellbeing.¹¹⁴ In the case of China, the notion of “social citizenship” prevailed in Confucian ideology, yet hardly occurs with a corresponding right to political empowerment acquired by actual participation in politics, revealing a reversal of the European case. According to intellectuals, represented by Liang Qichao and other political activists in early twentieth century China, rights are a retractable privilege bestowed by the state on its citizens rather than inherent and inalienable rights belonging to humans naturally. In this formulation, state authority precedes individual rights and thus the individual’s obligation to the state becomes more important than the individual’s right to modernize China by transforming imperial subjects into modern citizens. In tandem with this trend, the state continuously exerts more power over citizens as part of the process of making people fit to meet the state’s

¹¹²In James Scott’s view, the process of standardization of measurements is tied to the political simplification and the production of a unifying, homogeneous concept of citizenship, promoting the formation of a single people. Scott, 32.

¹¹³Merle Goldman and Elizabeth J. Perry, eds., *Changing Meanings of Citizenship in Modern China* (Cambridge, MA, London: Harvard University Press, 2002), 2. Neither do the editors differentiate citizenship from nationality, nor do they address their relationships between the two in this introduction.

¹¹⁴*Ibid.*, 2. However, Anthony Giddens has criticized this theorization for taking an evolutionary approach. Bryan Turner, “Outline of a Theory of Citizenship,” in *Dimensions of Radical Democracy: Pluralism, Citizenship, Community*, ed. Chantal Mouffe (London, New York: Verso, 1992), 36. Turner also points out that Marshall disregards the fact that theories of citizenship can be conducive to producing a theory of the state and “the idea that historically the growth of social citizenship has been typically the outcome of violence or threats of violence, bringing the state into the social arena as a stabilizer of the social system.” See Turner, 38. Another problem in Marshall’s formulations of citizenship is that he assumes the autonomy of nation states is relatively unaffected by global capitalist systems. *Ibid.*, 40.

ends through categorization and imposes responsibility on them, displaying the authoritarian nature of the state.¹¹⁵

However, the presence of Manchukuo's law of human rights does indicate that the state recognized and acknowledged humans' inalienable rights naturally and equally endowed, irrespective of race and religion. Equality being conceived of as one of the human rights, the state's legitimization of equality exemplifies the assurance of basic, inherent social rights by the law of nationality. On the one hand, this presents the interconnection between the rights of humans and nationality, which is the basis for the formation of nation-states; and at the same time, the law of human rights suggests the possibility of the emergence of social citizenship in the modern Chinese context in which state authority takes precedence over political and social rights.¹¹⁶ On the other hand, however, the existence of the category of "others" in the legal texts and the exclusion of a certain portion of the populace from the political community verifies that there are always human beings who cannot be protected by the law and can be further banned at any time by the state. As mentioned above, the individual's political position is an essential criterion for being a 'normal' national in Manchukuo, and about three thousand railway workers involved in Communism returned to Russia in June of 1935.¹¹⁷ The Russians' political status as exiles or a stateless people suggests precisely how the law itself can operate inside and outside the ambit of law, whose meaning is suspended.¹¹⁸ The existence of the stateless people

¹¹⁵Goldman and Perry, *Changing Meanings of Citizenship in Modern China*, 6-7.

¹¹⁶Fiorella Dell'Olio's study, *The Europeanization of Citizenship: Between the Ideology of Nationality, Immigration, and European Identity* (Aldershot, Hants: England, Ashgate, 2005) particularly deals with the relationship between nationality and citizenship in EU citizenship contexts in association with immigration. She argues that nationality and citizenship are still interchangeable in that the system of supra-national EU citizenship works within the existing boundaries of nationalities and further fortifies them because of national immigration policies, rather than forming a citizenship detached from national and cultural boundaries and those identities. As a result, the "typology of 'us' and 'them'" and their boundaries are produced and maintained and the European identity is also forged. see Dell'Olio, 3. See also pages 1-16, 145-150. Regarding the history of citizenship in Europe, see pages 17-32.

¹¹⁷*Manshū nenkan*, 528.

¹¹⁸Agamben notes that "[I]n the form of a *language* or, more precisely, a grammatical game, that is, in the form of a discourse whose actual denotation is maintained in infinite suspension." Agamben, 20.

in Manchukuo calls into question the meaning of territory-bounded nationality and its relation to stateless people's natural life that can be included and excluded at the same time inside and outside of the realms of law and territory, as explained by Agamben.

First of all, the acquisition of nationality by birth, which seems to have been enforced in Manchukuo, attests that the rights of humans are directly connected to the formation of nation-states as far as bare, natural life is concerned. In Agamben's view, the declaration of rights signifies that humans' bare, natural life comes to be situated in the jural-political order of the state and to be politicized.¹¹⁹ For instance, in the *Ancient Régime* of France, bare, natural life was perceived as God's creature belonging to him and it was not involved in politics; "[t]he principle of nativity and the principle of sovereignty" were separated and birth itself signaled only the appearance of a "*sujet*, subject."¹²⁰ However, humans' bare, natural life is forced to be consigned to the nation-state by birth and comes to be "the immediate bearer of sovereignty."¹²¹ As a result, humans become sovereign subjects and sovereignty is constituted. That is, the individual's birth signifies the immediate birth of a nation, and thus the individual's birth and nationality are essentially tied together. The bare, natural life becomes subject to the sovereign decision and is named by its citizenship, which is the origin and foundation of sovereignty.¹²²

Furthermore, the inseparable tie between bare life and sovereignty means that subjects do not freely renounce their natural rights, but they are preserved by sovereign power that can punish and kill anyone through any form of violence.¹²³

Also, in terms of the nature of law, "all law is situational law," and "[a] pure form of law is only the empty form of relation." Ibid., 16, 59. "The situation is created through the suspension of the rule" and this is the structure of the state of exception. Ibid., 18. "The exception is an element in law that transcends positive law in the forms of its suspension." Ibid., 17. For instance, martial law is a perfect example of "the state of exception."

¹¹⁹Ibid., 127.

¹²⁰Ibid., 128.

¹²¹Ibid.

¹²²Ibid., 129.

¹²³Ibid., 106.

Since bare, natural life is exclusively included within the state, the state governed by contracts is indistinguishable from nature and operates in a zone “in which the State tie, having the form of a ban, is always already also non-State and pseudo-nature, and in which nature always already appears as *nomos* [law] and the state of exception.”¹²⁴ Therefore, the coexistence of the affirmation of human rights and the stateless people who already obtained nationality but nevertheless were excluded from the law in the state illustrates that their bare, natural life and social life are determined by the state, which takes a form of the state but operates within the status of nature that becomes a law. In this sense, what is at issue here is not whether Manchukuo had sovereignty or not or how its characteristics are defined such as, as a puppet regime or a colony of Japan or an independent colony that resists Western imperialism, but how Manchukuo operates by both state and non-state functions and through their simultaneous workings. At the same time, the deportation of Russians who were politically Red with or without the Manchukuo nationality substantiates the fact that exiled people’s bare, natural life is at once situated outside the state’s realm of the law of nationality.¹²⁵ The rights of humans that presuppose the rights of citizenship are separated from each other, thereby bringing to light the paradoxical nature of sovereignty, that bare, natural life is simultaneously inside and outside national and territorial boundaries.¹²⁶

In addition, even at the visual level, the status of being excluded holds every possibility for inclusion and exclusion to work simultaneously to reformulate the meaning of race and nationality through a variety of cultural and political forms by state agents and its nationals. The visual inclusion of Russians was a cultural, political,

¹²⁴Ibid., 109.

¹²⁵As mentioned earlier, before 1932, Russians who worked for the Chinese Eastern Railway were forced to acquire either Chinese or Soviet citizenship. After this, they also had to obtain Manchukuo nationality to maintain their positions at the C.E.R. . However, not all Russians were engaged by the C.E.R., so there would be Russians without the Manchukuo nationality who were politically Red. In addition, the manner in which communists were defined and classified would be arbitrary. This also reveals how law can be enforced without its actual signification from even inside the law. Agamben, 53, 55.

¹²⁶Ibid., 132-133.

and historical process in which race was constructed and reconfigured in social practice, ultimately resulting in integration/segregation and the change of categories in law in social and private interactions.

Visual Inclusion of Russians and Production of Racial and Cultural Distinctions and Values

In contrast to the exclusion of Russians in the temporary laws of family registration in Manchukuo, Russians are integrated into the state as one of the chief races to represent its multiracial nature in popular images in Manchukuo. I first introduce a diagram, Figure 1, and a picture, Figure 2, representing the five races, including Russians, produced in the 1930s and 1940s and then present a picture of a dance performance, Figure 3, expressing the harmony of the five races without Russians in the 1930s. Figure 1 illustrates statistical information about the population of Manchukuo, and the names of the major races and their numbers are shown with the figures. Their traditional costumes, shoes, and hairstyles became the symbolic markers to embody major characteristics of each race. Judging from this image, Russians were recognized as a distinctive racial group. However, in the statistics, they were presented as the sixth major race and population in Manchukuo, standing in sharp contrast with their exclusion in the laws of family registration.¹²⁷

¹²⁷“Manzhouguo renzhong zhi goucheng,” 13. *Xinqingnian*, which published this report, is originally a bulletin of the Manchurian Concordia Association (Manshūkoku kyōwakai) of Fengtian Province. As we shall see, the leading role of the Japanese in Manchukuo is intimated and affirmed in the production of this image. But it is one of important journals, publishing many new literary works. Liu Xiaoli, “Weiman shiqi wenxue zazhi xinkao” (A new study of literary journals during the Manchukuo period), *Zhongguo xiandai wenxue yanjiu congkan* (Modern Chinese Literature Studies, translation in the original) 107 (2006):148-149. The Manchurian Concordia Association was one of the governmental organizations in Manchukuo undertaking the task of disseminating the state ideology of ethnic harmony, together with The Manchurian Youth League (Manshū seinen renmeikāi). Regarding the processes by which they are reformed and merged with other political organizations, see Shao, 114-119.

滿洲國人之種構成

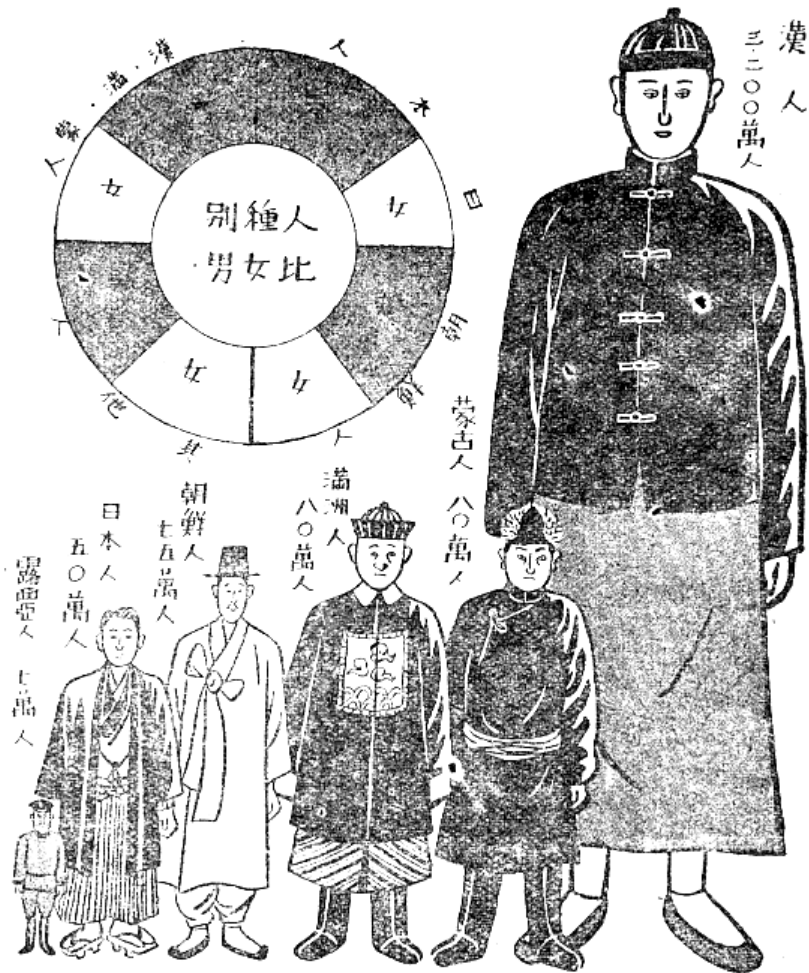


Figure 1. "Compositions of race in Manchukuo."

Statistics specifying population of Manchukuo with the names of race. From the right, Han (32,000,000), Mongols (800,000), Manchus (800,000), Koreans (750,000), Japanese (500,000), and Russians (70,000). *Xin qingnian* (The new youth), 84 (February 1939), 13.

The statistics are a chart of the compositions of race: Han, Mongols, Manchus, Koreans, Japanese, and Russians, each of which stands for their distinctive racial categories and populations. In the diagram, populations are divided by gender; however, male figures are representative of the population of each race in the picture,

exhibiting the hierarchical gender relationship between males and females. This statistical representation of six races appears to adopt a general way of displaying race and population of Manchukuo, but in fact it corresponds exactly to males' centrality in the temporary laws of family registration; the images of adults are brought in line with heads of households, whose roles are defined by law with legal obligations, as a basic unit to form the state, aiming at prompting the systematic controlling of the people through the force of law. At the visual level, not only does the optical power of images reconfirm the order of race and gender, but it also precisely illustrates the coexistence of the inclusionary and exclusionary nature in nationality law in documents and in practice. Russians are not subsumed within the category of Manchukuo people in law but instead are included in the visual texts, revealing the plasticity of racial categories and their manipulation in the hands of state and cultural agents. The disparity of exclusion and inclusion of Russians in law and practice suggests that no inclusionary, egalitarian law can operate without exclusionary, uneven parameters and vice versa. The visual inclusion of Russians is not diametrically opposed to the legal exclusion of them; the visual representation of them is none other than a process through which a category of race is created, a race which had already been accepted and circulated in society and is eventually defined and accepted as a new race by the state. The representation of the Russians could entail their political empowerment on the one hand, and on the other hand, it becomes an integral part in classifying them as national subjects for control of their social life.¹²⁸ Therefore, the inclusionary nature of law presupposes its exclusionary nature and operates from within through the interplay between the two.

¹²⁸In the case of the legal exclusion of Russians, as T.H. Marshall notes, a demand for the expansion of the categories to include them will rise from the very people who are excluded (Goldman and Perry, 9) or from the state for its needs at later times. This possibility is likely due to humans' cultural and sociopolitical activities and their momentum in which social changes are accompanied.

Moreover, it is important to note that race is coded with culture and gender hierarchy, as abstracted by traditional garb.¹²⁹ The visible, racial markers of physical features, one of the powerful means to be used for constructing race, are superseded by cultural carriers, functioning as a visual device for creating racial boundaries and difference under the disguise of culture. Apart from Russians, the other five races seemingly have racial and cultural closeness in terms of physical features. The near erasure of physical and racial difference brings forth another dimension of racial formation by way of representing the male body coded with cultural attire, and at the same time, the very concept of race and racial markers are constituted in a cultural way. Their dress plays a significant role in conjuring up and conveying a racial image of the peoples who are attached to sartorial practice and its meaning. The case of Koreans' white clothing illuminates how dress codes are intrinsically linked to the national identity under the influence of modernization and colonialism. The Koreans' traditional white attire is accepted as an expression of Korean national ethos and then comes to be perceived by Korean intellectuals as a symbol of the former, ruined Chosŏn and is a target for control and change into colored dress and "national, unified clothes" in colonial Korea.¹³⁰ In light of this point, traditional clothes can be seen as racialized, static images of the peoples, as well as their categories. In a similar vein, the Japanese man is in traditional clothes, *wafuku*¹³¹ but has short hair not covered

¹²⁹Dressing and cross-dressing and their relations to social and national identity are one of the major concerns of Gŭmch'on Yŏngach'i (Imamura Eiji in Japanese), a Korean writer who lived in Manchuria and wrote stories in Japanese. Gumchon's short story, "A Companion," depicts a Japanese man dressed in Korean clothing who encounters a Korean man dressed in Japanese clothing on their journey. Imamura Eiji "Dōkōsha" (A companion), *Manshū bungei nenkan* (Manchurian year book of literature and art) (Fengtian [Shenyang]: Manmō hyōronsha, 1939), 292-303.

¹³⁰For more detailed discussion, see Kong Je Uk, "Ŭibok t'ongje wa 'kungmin' mandŭlki" (Controlling dress and Making 'nationals'), in *Singminji ũi ilsang jibae wa kyunyŏl* (Every day of the colony: control and rupture), eds. Kong Je Uk and Chŏng Gŭn Sik (Seoul: Munhwa kwahaksa, 2006), 135-192.

¹³¹I thank Kyoko Selden *Sensei* for answering my questions about the images representing a Japanese man and girl, and sharing her knowledge about traditional Japanese clothing. According to her, the clothing in the image represents that of an upper (middle) class civilian, since the figure is well dressed with an outer jacket, *haori* and his pants, *hakama*, are divided. However, commoners can also dress in the style of the upper class on special occasions. Therefore, from the image, it is hard to discern his

with a hat, embodying the Japanese adoption of a modern hairstyle associated with the concept of hygiene. Given the fact that traditional long hair became an object to be transformed and controlled as an emblem of backwardness in the process of modernization in East Asia, the Japanese man's western hairstyle serves as a racial marker distinguishing him from men of other underdeveloped races, with the exception of a Russian man dressed in a 'western' uniform.

By the same token, the culturally coded male body in fact reveals the social mechanism in which a race is produced with a configuration of temporal distance and temporal image. In the process of state-making in Cuba, social scientists, particularly anthropologists, were concerned with the employment of time and set a structure of the observer and the observed by situating objects of study and others in distance, time and space. Alejandra Bronfman calls this "an aura of objectivity."¹³² The traditional clothing is presented in temporal and spatial contexts remote from the present as spectacles to be seen, evolving from the past. The Japanese man's modern hairstyle symbolizes Japan's modernization and her transformation in moving forward, whereas the traditional hair parallels the static status of other races or their moving backward, a visible indicator of the Japanese's higher social status as recipients of modernity. This image in this respect insinuates Japan's leading role according to the logic and discourse of development by conferring racial distinctions based on the modern hairstyle and fashion on the Japanese over the others. Thus, the meaning of race is produced in association with the arrangement of temporal images and temporality.

class. This is a diagram presenting factual information, but one can take the image as is. Korean commoners also can wear upper class clothing on particular occasions, especially weddings. The Korean man in the diagram does not have a modern hairstyle, although Koreans also adopted western culture at that time. In addition, unlike the Japanese man, his overcoat, *turumagi*, and the traditional hat, *kat*, are not for a formal occasion. In this regard, the images also represent characteristics of different classes among races.

¹³²Bronfman, *Measures of Equality*, 111.

Compared with the statistical representation of the male centered six races, girls are the primary figures in transmitting the state ideology of racial harmonization in popular visual images. A picture, Figure 2, representing the five races is composed of a Chinese, Japanese, Korean, and Russian child, and the boy in the right corner seems to represent a Mongolian. The inclusion of a Russian girl in this picture illustrates that the state's racial policy as to who the five races are is restructured and represented by cultural agents in their own way. According to Olga Bakich, Russians were initially defined as one of the five races and thus the print media reflects their original status. The Japanese boy and the Korean girl hold the Japanese national flags, but the Chinese girl and the boy in the right corner hold the flags of Manchukuo. The Russian girl in the center wears a 'western' dress and holds an old Russian Navy flag with a blue cross on white background.¹³³ Once again, the pattern of wearing clothes among the five races recurs in the same way in this image; except for the Russian girl, only the Japanese boy wears short pants, representing a western style of clothing, but the other Asian girls and boy wear traditional clothes. Thus, dress functions as a racial marker of differentiation, which is ultimately connected to racial hierarchy, though it is veiled by the propaganda message of the image.

¹³³The red dress she wears is called *sarafan*, one of the most popular costumes in Russia. This is a straight *sarafan*, and its calf length shows that it is "more suited to the quicker dances." Robert Harrold, Illustrated by Phyllida Legg, *Folk Costumes of the World* (London: Cassell, 1999), 100. From the image, one can notice it is a skirt and a shirt in one. Bright colors are mainly used for Russian costumes as in the red *sarafan* above, but darker colors such as "grey, brown, lilac or purple" are not used. Ibid. Louis H. Chalif explains Russians' taste for bright and simple colors are associated with their relationship with nature, Russians, particularly peasants. This tradition, however, was modified by Peter the Great, who enlarged ranges of colors through the adoption of western ideas. Nonetheless, he was interested in peasant art and still adored red. In addition, red is synonymous with being beautiful in Russian. The red *safaran* is a symbol of a bride, and Russian peasants were fondest of the color red. Louis H. Chalif, *Russian Festivals and Costumes for Peasant and Dance* (New York: Chalif Russian School of Dancing, 1921), 55-56. I thank Pavel Dmitriev for answering my questions about this image and identifying the flag. He identifies the hat she wears. It is a *beret*. Its representation is traditional and it is worn in cold weather.

The new year of victory

Happy! Joyful! Congratulations! This new year of victory! We are the *one body of the five races* [emphasis added], undertaking the great mission of developing Asia. Our next generation will also be in harmony forever and get along with one another well. Happy! Joyful! The last victory is ours. Let's rouse ourselves! Move forward! Until the completion of the holy war!

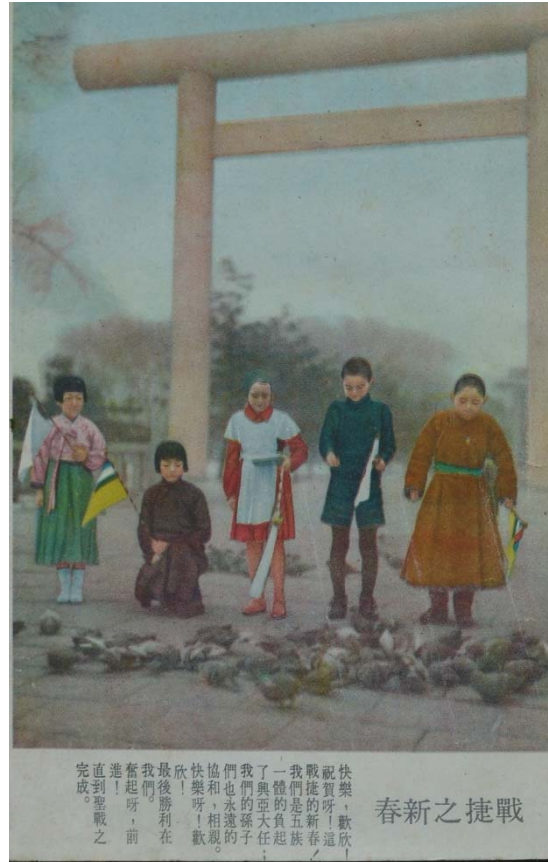


Figure 2. A picture representing the racial policy of the harmony of the five races, including a Russian girl, who is excluded in law.

From the right, a boy with Manchukuo's flag, a Japanese boy with the Japanese flag, a Russian girl, a Chinese/Manchu girl, and a Korean girl. *Qilin*, (The Unicorn), 4.2 (January 1944)¹³⁴

¹³⁴Both Han and Manchu women wear *qipao*, Manchu's traditional clothing, thus it is difficult to discern the girl's ethnicity from the picture. However, the term "Manchu people" was identified with the Han people, Chinese people at that time. Kawamura Minato, 8. In this respect, she can represent the Chinese here. Manchurian Magazine Company (Manzhou zhazhishe) published this magazine and it was established in combination with Manchurian Film Corporation (Manying Man'ei). It also published *Dianying huaba* (Film pictorial), whose previous title was *Manshū eiga* (Manchurian film). Hu Chang,

This picture employs the national flags of Japan and Manchukuo to highlight their unity and harmony. The girl in the center, however, holds an old Russian Navy flag, probably arising from the producer's misinformation about the national flag of Russia. The use of the national flags also contributes to the formation of the racial order and affirmation of Japan's leading role in the state. The national flag of Manchukuo is called the "flag of the five cardinal colors," (*wuseqi*) composed of red, blue, white, black, and yellow, each of which connotes a particular meaning. There have been two interpretations about the symbolic meaning of the colors. Dan Shao argues that the national flag of Manchukuo springs from the national flag of the Chinese Republic. The latter uses "red, yellow, blue, white, and black stripes representing Han, Manchus, Mongolians, Muslim and Tibetans."¹³⁵ "Red, blue, black, white stripes on the yellow ground" represent Han, Manchus, Mongols, Japanese and Koreans in Manchukuo's national flag.¹³⁶ The objective of using the colors resides in underpinning the harmony of the "five ethnic groups."¹³⁷ The colors serve as symbolic signs to represent races as well as a means to reduce the stereotyped qualities of the people into simple paradigms. Kawamura Minato's view on the colors also shows how the use of colors is closely tied to the hierarchal arrangement of race. He maintains that the five colors signify the four points of the compass, i.e., north, south, east and west, and the center, without any racial implications. Nonetheless, the sole color that

Gu Quan, *Manying-guoce dianying de mianmianguan* (Manchurian Film Corporation: observations on national films of Manchukuo) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1990), 151-152. *Manshu eiga* was published both in Chinese and Japanese. Liu Xiaoli defines the characteristic of *Qilin* and notes that the purpose of the magazine was to give people comfort and to cultivate national sentiment, as it was a popular, cultural magazine. Liu Xiaoli, "Cong <<Qilin>> zazhi kan dongbei lunxian shiqi de tonggu wenxue" (A view of popular literature during the Manchukuo period from *Qilin*," *Zhongguo xiandai dangdai wenxue yanjiu* (Research on Modern and Contemporary Chinese Literature, title translation in the original), 8 (2005):50. As opposed to its purport, it is a purely popular magazine which publishes many love stories and spy stories. The publisher associated with one of the governmental cultural organizations was engaged in the production of popular culture as part of the enactment of the national policies, revealing diverse aspects of the state's involvement in culture and capitalism.

¹³⁵Shao, *Ethnicity in Empire and Nation*, 113.

¹³⁶*Shengjing Times*, February 4, 1932, Ibid.

¹³⁷Ibid.

cannot be mixed with any other color, i.e., the white color, stands for the Japanese race and their privileged position.¹³⁸ The colors not only represent the five races but also produce a symbolic meaning assigned to the color, which in turn informs the racial order. Circulated by the state and cultural agents, the information on the colors in the flag and their racial associations lead people to experience the colors along with racial signification of the colors; as a result, this process, through visual power, eventually allowed the visualization of racial formation and the dissemination of racial ideology. The inclusion of Russians in popular images evinces how Manchukuo used cultural technologies to configure race and produce the meaning of race for the sake of promoting racial harmony. They included Russians in the popular images by virtue of their visible and discernable characteristics of skin color and body, demonstrating somatic attributes that serve as the main referent of racial difference in visual texts. The visual representation of the body itself reconfirms the previous social modes of racial formation, but at the same time, the physical proximity of different Asian races to each other within the state gives rise to the production of race in a variety of dimensions that require more delicate methods of categorizing race.



Figure 3. A picture of elementary school girls' dance performance representing the racial policy of the harmony of the five races, without Russians.

Xin manzhou, (New Manchuria), 1. 11 (November 1939)

¹³⁸Kawamura, *Bungaku kara miru Manshū gozokukyōwa no yume to genjitsu*, 8. Olga Bakich has stated that the colors of the national flag of Manchukuo were “explained as red for the Japanese, blue for the Russian émigrés, white for the Koreans, and black for the Han Chinese, while the yellow background stood for the Manchu people” when Russians were considered one of the five races from the inception of the establishment of the state. Bakich, 62.

This picture, Figure 3, presents elementary school girls performing a dance themed the racial policy of the harmony of the five races. Clothing, starting from the far left corner, a *qipao* (Chinese/Manchus), a *hanbok* (Koreans), a *kimono* (Japanese) at the center, and a second *qipao* far right are used to represent the five races. The position of the Japanese figure in the center, her bodily posture, and garment all symbolize the centrality of the Japanese and their leading roles in the cultural configuration of race; though the picture is uncolored, the Japanese girl's dress, in contrast to other girls' patternless black and white dresses, has patterns and it is highlighted by the *obi*, the sash tied around her higher waist.¹³⁹ Therefore, the signs of distinction in costume are implied in the thematic effect and coincide with the production of racial boundaries and distinctions.¹⁴⁰ Although the symbol of the second dress from the right is unclear, it is noticeable that Russians are not included in this performance. In addition, only female students perform the dance, and thus the visualization of the racialized, female body also is attuned to the practice of gender ideology. The category of race and its meaning are produced by bodily performance essentialized by traditional costumes. By assuming a gender role representing racial ideology, the girls' bodily practice of an art form is a gender-coded, cultural performativity. It is the process by which gender conventions and racial formation play together to disseminate the order of race and gender by virtue of the visual power attached to the female body, along with the visual power of the dance costumes.

At the same time, however, the audience's reception of signs of racial distinction cannot be taken as exactly the same as the producers' intention. In this

¹³⁹According to Kyoko Selden, this dress is a westernized, *kimono* style dress in that the direction of the sash goes from the head downward and the sleeves do not have sleeve pockets. Like the Japanese man's hairstyle, this dress delicately reflects the Japanese adoption of western culture or modernization of traditional culture.

¹⁴⁰According to Bourdieu, the acquisition of signs of distinctions and their legitimization are possible through positioning a foil such as lower class as a passive object and reference points to be negated. Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*, trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge: MA, Harvard University Press, 1984), 251.

regard, this image illuminates an important aspect of the social mechanism producing and practicing the notion of race from the perspective of viewers. A social mode of production of race is complicated by the audience's viewing process and by the operation of their own agency. The representation of the five races with two *qipao* costumes illustrates the complexity of the social formation processes in which representation and reception intersect in the field of cultural production and circulation. The viewing process in film can be applied to the theatrical dance performance: "(1) identification with the representation of a person (character/star); (2) recognition of particular objects, persons, or action *as* such (stars, narrative images); (3) identification with the 'look,' with oneself as the condition of perception."¹⁴¹ Viewers would first identify with the representation of each race and then with thematic messages/images, and finally the reception process would take place. Two *qipao* imply the Manchu-Han relationship in Manchuria; if the *qipao* also represent the Han people, then ironically, their unharmonious relationship with the Manchus is represented, but if the *qipao* does not, then the dominance of the Manchus and the Han people over other races in Manchukuo in terms of population numbers and actual power is in fact reflected in the number of costumes in the performance.¹⁴² From the perspective of the Russians, their absence in the performance reconfirms their constant unstable status and their lack of full recognition from other societal members. In this picture, the social mechanisms of producing race are twofold: the way in which the order of race and gender is practiced in schools on the one hand, and

¹⁴¹Miriam Hansen, "Pleasure Ambivalence, Identification: Valentino and female spectatorship," in *Stardom: Industry of Desire*, ed. Christine Gledhill (London and New York: Routledge, 1991), 266.

¹⁴²To be sure, it depends on race, class, and gender, case by case. According to Han Suk-Jung, however, the Chinese were a dominant group and were ranked higher than Koreans in governmental, administrative organizations, as I mentioned above, though his approach has a problem. Han Suk-Jung, "Manjugukūi minjok hyōngsōngkwa oerae kōryuminūi sahoejōk wich'i kwanhan yōn'gu-chosōnin kwa ilbonin ūi kyōngwu," 865.

Although Han Chinese women commonly wore the *qipao* during the Republican era, various scholars and designers have recurrently questioned its identification with Han Chinese clothing on account of its historically Manchu origins.

diverse, counter effects of expectation from viewers and audiences, stemming from their racial backgrounds and sociopolitical positions on the other hand. The process of identification with viewed objects and their receptions elucidate the ways in which the meaning of the visual image is produced by viewers themselves, and thus cultural mediation deviant from the surface message occurs in cultural production. Their own modes of particular practice of discourse and race indicate that the reception of cultural production and its meaning are not completely determined by the cultural producers' intention, even going beyond the purview of the rule of the state.

In summary, the inclusion and exclusion of Russians reveals complex social mechanisms of producing the concept of race and the specific meanings of a racial designation because of the Russians' particular status in China. They include the precise moments of seeing and the gap between the gazing subject and the object seen and represented. Race was reconfigured into a hierarchal order, resulting from the alterity visibly coded in the body and costumes as cultural and racial differences. The production of signs of distinction elucidates how representations of race are created and consumed through techniques of visualizing race and the racialization of the body and culture. The Russians' existence and meaning are recognized insofar as they are a body that cultural agents of Manchukuo wished to express to their audience with physical difference; at the same time, they and racial hybridity had to be rearranged and included in part due to their actual or potential danger and threat to the construction of a homogeneous Chinese nationality. In this sense, Russians and racial hybridity did not carry any suggestion of white supremacy in China but could only have significance as they functioned as the visible other in cultural production.

Conclusion

With the exception of Olga Bakich, scholars have simply regarded the harmony of the five races as political propaganda for Manchukuo and have proposed their own list of what the five races are without critical reflection on how the concept and its meaning are created and manipulated in diverse forms of representations in print media. Although the message and meaning of the propaganda is conveyed straightforwardly, the indeterminacy of the category from the very outset leads to multiple dimensions of articulations. First, the representations of racial policies and their meaning evince the gap between indication and significance, since the category of race is neither defined clearly nor fixed, but rather is changed and modulated by the government and cultural agents. Not only does the harmony of the five races serve as a political slogan, but it also functions as a sign whose meaning is contingent upon how it is deployed within the uncertainty and plasticity of the racial category. Moreover, Russians also function as a sign: their name may be absent from the law yet their corporeal body be very present in the print media and consequently, in visual and optical imagination. The contention and oscillation between absence and presence¹⁴³ in law and in print media and performance signifies that they are situated in the hub of racial formations as the confluence of signs of racial distinctions as well as racial

¹⁴³Both Christine Gledhill and Christian Metz address “presence in absence” in the system and function of stars in cinema. It means that stars play certain, fictive roles to show the diegetic world in film, but are in fact absent in cinema due to the very fictionality of film; at the same time, they exist with powerful influences on audiences even outside of cinema. Christine Gledhill, “Signs of melodrama,” in *Stardom: Industry of Desire*, ed. Christine Gledhill (London and New York: Routledge, 1991), 219. Shelly Stephenson has used this term to explain the Li Xianlan (Ri Kōran) phenomenon and her roles as a real star and a sign in Japanese-occupied Shanghai. Shelly Stephenson, “Her Traces are Found Everywhere”: Shanghai, Li Xianglan, and the “Greater East Asian Film Sphere,” in *Cinema and Urban Culture in Shanghai, 1922-1943*, ed. Yingjin Zhang (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999), 230. My use of absence and presence is drawn from a similar logic but is dissimilar. Unlike film and other media used to transmit the existence of stars pervasively, the absence of Russians in law does not have such an effect. But their simultaneous presence and absence in print media exhibits their unstable status to be included and excluded at any time with different effects in generating the notion of race and its meaning. The arbitrary nature of the deployment of Russians has a similarity with the social structure of star-making in that they both evoke social imaginations of stars and race loaded with social values and ideology through the circulation.

politics of categorization in the processes of social and visual imagination of race in cultural production. The changing representations of racial categories and distinctions are a process through which the notion of race is practiced in discursive forms in reality and reception. It is precisely at this point that the realization of the harmony of the five races is never completed and achieved; no matter how political and cultural agents attempt to define and manipulate what it means to be the five races and circulate their representations, they will never break away from the incessant slippage between signification and indication on account of the very indeterminate nature of language and various positionings in reception.

Second, clothing and style are not merely an expression of personal taste but also become involved in racial and national traits as a form of racial ideology figured in temporal images. The regime of style and fashion promotes the exchange of the trope of racial body and styles circulated as a cultural product and commodity. The consumption of visual images by viewers with different tastes could eventually accelerate the speed of the production of new tastes and styles embedded with racial and cultural values. In this respect, race is involved in the process of commoditization and functions as a carrier of value and capital that can be rendered as cultural capital as well as material, economic profit in social relations and life. Thus, Manchukuo operates in the matrix of racial capital and the production and exchange of racialized style and taste in the “commodity situation.”¹⁴⁴ In this, Russians’ social status as exiled and stateless people can be characterized as liminal, in-between inclusion and

¹⁴⁴Arjun Appadurai opposes the stark distinction between gift and commodity and the Marxian concept of the commodity which focuses on the mode of production and consumption and proposes the concept of “commodity situation.” He proposes that “*the commodity situation in the social life of any ‘thing’ be defined as the situation in which its exchangeability (past, present or future) for some other things is its socially relevant feature*”(emphasis in the original, 11-12). It subsumes “(1) the commodity phase of the social life of any thing; (2) the commodity candidacy of any thing; and (3) the commodity context in which any thing may be placed.” Arjun Appadurai, ed. *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspectives* (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 13.

exclusion in an indefinite unstable form in the law and cultural production.¹⁴⁵ However, it should be emphasized that non-governmental social actors' practice of their versions of race and its meaning and divergent effects of reception contain resources from which to view plural referential points, providing an open possibility for the creation of meaning that is not imposed.

Lastly, the simultaneous coexistence of the laws of nationality and human rights in Manchukuo and Russians' political status as exiles provide a new perspective from which to reexamine Manchukuo from within and beyond the framework of nation-states and colonialism. As discussed above, the fact that Russians' bare, natural, and political lives are situated in a denationalized space within the state shows the manners in which bare, natural life is banned in the zone in which "fact and law are indistinguishable (yet must, nevertheless, be decided on)."¹⁴⁶ Ironically, however, the situation in which exiled people's political life is in a denationalized space calls for the creation of a citizenship or a legality that can protect bare, natural life beyond national boundaries. The existence of the law of human rights suggests a possibility of the creation of a legal space for exiles and immigrants, even if it could be limited to the titular level reserved exclusively for nationals of Manchukuo; this perspective would stimulate new theoretical inquiries to look at in Manchukuo.

¹⁴⁵Hage notes that "[w]hite multiculturalism [in Australia] activates a dialectic of inclusion and exclusion, similar to the above, in order to position Third World-looking migrants in the permanent spatial in-between where their will is excluded, while their exploitable 'savage' body/culture is included. . . . [T]he effect of assimilation policy was similar to the guest-worker system in that it positioned the migrant workers in a process of mere *economic* inclusion in the workplace and of *socio-political* exclusion both in the workplace and elsewhere in society." Ghasson Hage, "White Nation," 137 (italics in the original). As pointed out in the introduction, Hage deals with the logics of racism expressed in Australian people's actual encounters with immigrants and of the patterns of their responses and behaviors. His discussion of the mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion calls for a further examination of immigrants' social and legal status, that is, if they are included in economic activities, then how is immigrants and refugees' social status legally defined and transformed over time. Representations of the Russian diaspora in film will be discussed in detail in chapter five and shows richer dimensions of inclusion of the stateless people's culture.

¹⁴⁶Agamben, *Homo Sacer*, 27.

CHAPTER 2:
A ‘WHITE RACE’ WITHOUT SUPREMACY:
RACIAL HYBRIDITY AND RUSSIAN DIASPORA IN THE CHINESE
LITERATURE OF MANCHUKUO

Introduction

This chapter will examine fictional representations of racial hybridity¹⁴⁷ in the short stories dealing with the offspring of interracial marriages between Russians and Chinese, written by Chinese writers in the Japanese-sponsored state of Manchukuo in the 1930s and 1940s. Russian migration into China inevitably entailed racial and cultural encounters with the Chinese, as well as the Russians’ own displacement, deracinated from their ‘homeland’ and readjusting to their country of exile, Manchukuo.¹⁴⁸ The Chinese writers showed great interest in their presence and paid particular attention to their experience of diaspora and their strenuous struggle to make a living as a homeless and stateless people; thus the publication of literary works

¹⁴⁷Racial hybridity here refers to half-Chinese and half-Russian people and their fictional representations, deriving from the assumption by Chinese writers in Manchukuo that there is such a thing as racial and cultural purity.

¹⁴⁸Rosi Braidotti distinguishes the migrant from the exile, since the former “is no exile: s/he has a clear destination: s/he goes from one point in space to another for a very clear purpose” (22). Migration is motivated by economy, especially in the E.U. . “By contrast, the exile is often motivated by for political reason and does not often coincide with the lower classes.” She further distinguishes exile literature from that of migration. The former is marked by a sense of loss or separation from the host country, which, often for political reason, is a lost horizon”(24). The latter is characterized as “an in-between state whereby the narrative of the origin has the effect of destabilizing the present” (24). Rosi Braidotti, *Nomadic Subjects: Embodiment and Sexual Difference in Contemporary Feminist Theory* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), 22-24. To be sure, most Russians who came to Manchuria after the Russian Revolution of 1917 were exiles, but they had come to China even earlier for various reasons and diverse aims, as shown in the previous chapter. Thus, rather than drawing a clear-cut line between the migrant and the exile in terms of the nature of population movement in literary representation, my purpose is to examine the social and historical condition of immigrant Russians, including the exiled, and the period of intermarriage with the Chinese and their offspring. The first generation of Russians depicted in the stories do show a longing and nostalgia for the ‘home’ country, whereas the hybrid second generation does not have such consciousness but struggle with their in-betweenness with or without claiming their racial and cultural origin from one of their parents. Their in-betweenness does not necessarily relate to the characteristic of movement such as exile or migration, but rather is tied to their subject position as self-defined or by others in social relations.

depicting their migration and their positionality in a new territory increased considerably during this period. Chinese writers, as they wrote about their contact with immigrant Russians, came to imagine and frame what it meant to be Chinese, to belong to the Han race, and to be of mixed-blood (*hunxue*). Thus, their literary representations of the Russian diaspora conceive and structure the meaning of race, racial hybridity, whiteness, and nationality. In these stories, the Chinese notion of *minzu* (nation/race) emerged from its construction out of these racial and cultural interactions by way of representing Chinese writers' understanding and knowledge of the other.

My central concern with respect to racial hybridity is the Chinese parameters of racial formation in their relation to Russians, who were perceived as racially white but not colonizers in Manchukuo. The Russians' particular status in Manchuria as exiles who fled the Russian Revolution of 1917 offers a distinctive contrast with the common, dominant narrative of colonialism in which white, always colonizers, rule colonized natives. The Russians' marginality and wretchedness as a stateless people embody not only their subordination to the Chinese, but also a 'Chinese' concept of whiteness produced in a specific geopolitical, historical, and cultural context. Thus, the interracial and cultural relationships among non-colonizers were the very locus for rethinking the binary opposition of colonizer and colonized, center and periphery, and the meaning of whiteness and white supremacy, as well as the problem of agency that utters and produces such racialization in cultural production. On the one hand, Chinese writers' portrayal of the Russians' experience of displacement can be seen as the Chinese attempt to voice and identify with it as intellectuals who speak about and for the subaltern.¹⁴⁹ On the other hand, the writings filter and articulate the Russians'

¹⁴⁹Gayatri Spivak argues that the voice of the subaltern cannot be spoken or represented fully by any other agencies on their behalf. Nikos Papastergiadis, *The Turbulence of Migration: Globalization, Deterritorialization, and Hybridity* (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 2000), 191-192. However, Gail Hershtatter argues that scholars can trace and utter the voices of the subaltern through historical

historical and cultural memories through the Chinese point of view, so that asymmetrical relationships between them are unavoidably embedded in the Chinese relational positioning of immigrant Russians in narratives since the writers viewed and assessed Russians' racial and cultural traits hieratically according to the logic of the commensurability between the two.

In the following discussion, I explore how Chinese writers recognized and perceived racial hybridity and Russian immigrants, and the nature of their interrelationships in forming Chinese national subjects and nationality in terms of similarity and sameness, difference and otherness. I specifically investigate how hybrids and immigrants can or cannot become a people and what constitutes a people. My discussion of racial hybridity in the Chinese literature of Manchukuo centers on the ways in which race, whiteness, and nationality are constructed; I hope to discover the potential to form a subjectivity dissociated from nationality. I examine the following questions: first, how hybrids and Russians' physical features are identified to show alterity and how they are named and classified and what kind of typology and mode of address are employed, themes which are eloquently touched upon in Luo Feng's "Kaosuofu de fa" (Kaosuofu's Hair) and Shi Jun's "Hunxue'r" (Mixed-Blood Children); second, what are the qualifications for becoming Chinese and what constitutes hybridity in terms of race, culture, political position, and the mode of thinking, that bear directly on the transformation of racial hybrids into Chinese national subjects, who are not defined as such in the end; third; what is the significance of representations of racial hybridity in the politics of identity formation in connection to building Chinese national identity and fluid and multiple subjectivities, detached from the existing racial and national boundaries. By

materials and records by the subaltern themselves and other agencies, even if they are fragmentary and scattered and often legitimize dominant gender norms and discourse in the case of prostitution in Shanghai in China. Gail Hershatler, "The Subaltern Talks Back: Reflections on Subaltern Theory & Chinese History" *Positions* 1.1 (Spring 1993): 119.

addressing social and racial formations and the social mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion of racial hybrids and immigrants as narrated and shaped from the Chinese point of view, this chapter attempts to further clarify the social and cultural logic of the creation of race and nationality among ‘non-colonizers’ such as Chinese, Russians, and hybrids in Manchukuo. The examination of production and mobilization of hybridity in discourse and literary representations by the Chinese, who were themselves colonized by the Japanese yet “colonized” Russians, show multivalent aspects of colonial social relations and the dynamics of colonial power in the course of cultural exchange circulated and accumulated within the periphery.

Discourse of Hybridity from the Late Qing to the Chinese Republic and After: From Physical Improvement to Cultural and Metaphysical Degradation

Chinese intellectuals in late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries hotly discussed the national benefits of racial mixing for the reform of Chinese society and presented it as a utopian vision, as scrutinized in Emma Jinhua Teng’s recent study “Eurasian Hybridity in Chinese Utopian Visions: From ‘One World’ to ‘A Society Based on Beauty and Beyond.’”¹⁵⁰ This article especially encompasses a Chinese intellectual’s racial perception of Russians in the 1920s; thus the observation of the development of discourse on hybridity is helpful in grasping its later development in literary representation with respect to classifications of hybrids and the racialization of the particular term.

Teng’s study sheds light on how Chinese intellectuals from the late Qing to the early Republican eras mapped out race and hybridity to reform the physical quality of the national body, thereby envisioning a promising future for the nation, and their recurrent, thematic interconnections in popular culture inside and outside China even

¹⁵⁰Emma Jinhua Teng, “Eurasian Hybridity in Chinese Utopian Visions: From ‘One World’ to ‘A Society Based on Beauty and Beyond,’” *Positions* 14. 1 (Spring 2006):131- 163.

in contemporary times. By including whites, yet excluding darker skinned races and blacks for improving the Chinese race, racial boundaries between whites and yellows were blurred. However, in turn, a new boundary between them and darker skinned races was at once built upon the very logic of racial hierarchy on which they were based. According to Teng, Zhang Jingsheng (1888-1970) in 1924 and 1925 proposed that his eugenic schema to establish Chinese society on the basis of beauty and interracial marriage would have promoted mutual understanding of other races and reduce conflict among them. Influenced by Social Darwinism and grounded on the reports that one million Russian women had married Chinese men after the Russian Revolution, Zhang purported that this amalgamation would have been complementary for each race in that the soft, somatic features of the Chinese would have been counterbalanced by Russians' physical strength. He allegedly further put forth the idea that a new race as the outcome of such a hybrid union would have been centered in Asia as "the masters of an Asia for Asians."¹⁵¹

Teng has interpreted Zhang's argument and the discourse of hybridity in Chinese intellectual history from the late Qing to the Early Republican period in terms of Chinese traditional Confucian and Taoist discourse and comes to the conclusion that the Chinese construction of an idealized Eurasian hybridity can be seen as the Chinese response to Western dominance by forming a Chinese identity rooted, though not completely, in the Chinese race. Teng claims that Zhang and others' combinations of Euro-Asian racial characteristics, each of which purportedly draws from the forte of the peoples, are not loaded with gender values, but read as a manifestation of traditional *wen* (cultural qualities) and *wu* (martial qualities) and "a dichotomy within masculinity itself."¹⁵² The discourse of Chinese hybridity at that time tends to descend into representations of Chinese values, and its indeterminacy, after all, is doomed to be

¹⁵¹Ibid., 149.

¹⁵²Ibid., 153.

filtered in the ways that the Chinese see and map out the structure of the world and knowledge. In short, interracial marriage between Chinese and Russians is valorized and the latter's physical strength is affirmed in the Chinese Republic. In Zhang Jingsheng's formulation of hybridity, racial mixing did not presuppose (im)purity of blood of each race but rather was marked by their putative physical traits. Russians were perceived as equal to the Chinese and as a partner which would bring about the amelioration of the Chinese race, as shown in Teng's article. However, Chinese writers in Manchukuo in the 1930s and 1940s no longer believed in the early argument of the Russians' strong physicality and they substituted in their literature an impure blood as a cause of racial contaminants.

Mixing Blood and Water and the Metonymy of Hair: the Impurity of Racial Hybridity vs. the Purity of Chinese Nationality in Luo Feng's "Kaosuofu's Hair"

Luo Feng's short story, "Kaosuofu de fa" (Kaosuofu's Hair) vividly illustrates how a half-Chinese, half-Russian boy struggles to become Chinese and be accepted as such, after the initial negation of his Chinese racial and cultural heritage.¹⁵³ As the title implies, his physiological features, such as his blood, hair, and appearance, are not only the central trope of the story, but they are also encoded with Chinese cultural values, presented as sources to stand for what it means to be 'authentic' Chinese. By capturing his liminal status between Russian and Chinese, the text depicts the processes in which his subjectivity is shaped and defined by the dominant group, the Chinese, in the formation of homogeneity of Chinese nationality in practice, as well as his submission to such a formation. The ontological significance of the protagonist,

¹⁵³This story was originally published in *Zhongliu* (Midstream) Vol.1, Issue 9, January 1937. See, Xing Yan, "Luofeng zhuzuo mulu xinian" (Chronological list of Luo Feng's writings), in *Dongbei xiandai wenxue shiliao* (Historical materials of modern Northeast Chinese literature), edited by Liaoning Academy of Social Sciences Institute of Literature, 8 (March 1984): 265.

The text used here is from Luo Feng, *Lu Feng wenji* (Anthology of Luo Feng) (Shenyang: Chunfeng wenyi chubanshe, 1983), 14-27.

Kaosuofu, can only be recognized by Chinese, and he can only be accepted as long as he identifies himself with a Chinese nationalist, who defends China's sovereignty against Japanese imperialism. The details of how his racial and national identity shifts from Russian to Chinese precisely reveal the aporia of unlocatable, 'hybrid' subjectivity.

Regarding these thematic concerns in particular, I first analyze how the protagonist's physical features are discerned and portrayed for the construction of racial difference as a visible object and second, how the Chinese narrator creates symbolic meanings through and within the Chinese values. I address the Chinese term, *hunxue* (mixed blood), which is the most fundamental, linguistic confirmation of the existence of pure blood and racial value, together with the term *liang he shui* (mixed/blended water) and its significant implications in terms of *yin* and *yang* and aquatic symbolism. I also explore the complexity of Kaosuofu's racial and cultural relationships with his father and mother that are grounded in the logic of hygienic modernity and the reconfiguration of gender; the processes of the negation and affirmation of his father and mother precisely correspond to his final decision to become a 'Chinese' national subject.

Synopsis

The story recounts the processes in which Kaosuofu denies and then affirms his Chinese racial and cultural heritage and the Chinese's final determination of his national identity. From the beginning, "Kaosuofu's Hair" directly points to the subject matter and its thematic consideration from a Chinese boy's viewpoint. The Chinese boy, the narrator, begins the story with the sentence: "people [the Chinese] ask

Kaosuofu: ‘What is your nationality?’”¹⁵⁴ However, Kaosuofu, the child of a Chinese man and a Russian woman, cannot always answer this question. “In fact, who would not know his nationality? From his nose, eyes, hair, and . . . [I]t is such that some kind of a mixture of blood is very obviously shown.” (14) Kaosuofu is afflicted by this barrage of slanted question as well as other insulting remarks by Chinese townspeople and intensely burdened with the difficulty of locating his identity and nationality between Chinese and Russian. He negates his Chinese cultural heritage and racial and national background by calling the Chinese pigs. Employing the same logic, he considers his father a Chinese pig. Thus, his Chinese father is the first object he repudiates and slanders. Besides, Chinese schools are pigsties and students are also young pigs. He even refuses to use his Chinese name, Yang Ji, or to attend a Chinese school, despite the fact that he holds Chinese nationality through patrilineal descent. Instead, he chooses a Russian missionary school. After he starts to attend this school, he and the Chinese narrator become distant. In the spring of 1932, the Japanese army occupies Harbin, and Kaosuofu becomes close to his Japanese friends. One night, the Chinese narrator witnesses Kaosuofu throwing himself at the father’s chest and crying loudly after having been tied and beaten up. Kaosuofu even whines in distress to his father in Chinese. At this point, his father abruptly disappears and never comes back. Two years later, the Chinese narrator meets Kaosuofu, who is imprisoned with him in the same cell for murder and comes to know the details of the events of that night. That night Kaosuofu had been humiliated and raped by four or five of his Japanese friends and became entangled in a brawl, and his father left for the Japanese gendarmerie to report the case, but he died in the end. The event jolted Kaosuofu into action, killing two of the Japanese as a way to wreak his vengeance for his father’s

¹⁵⁴The original Chinese sentence is “*Ni shi na yi guo ren?*” It can also be translated as “Where are you from?” but I would like to emphasize the word, *guo* (nation/state). So I select the word, nationality. Luo, *Lu Feng wenji*, 14.

death: one was a customer of a Chinese brothel and the other one was a friend who often visited his house.¹⁵⁵ The event of that night altered Kaosuofu's sense of cultural and national identity. When the prison inmates cut each other's hair, he strongly refuses to have his hair cut. He wants to leave it uncut as an extension of his father's body. He wishes to preserve his hair to the grave and return it to his beloved father, while asking the Chinese narrator to hand part of it over to his Russian mother. (26-27) Despite this and all the other descriptions about how Kaosuofu strived to prove his Chinese identity, the Chinese narrator takes the story in an opposite direction and identifies him as a strange and beautiful mixed-blood in the end.

The employment of Manichean allegory and its representation are the most central features of colonial literature as well as colonial discourse; it consists of a variety of interchangeable binary oppositions such as: "white and black, good and evil, superiority and inferiority, civilization and savagery, intelligence and emotion, rationality and sensibility, self and other, subject and object."¹⁵⁶ Hybridity, the term and its meaning, are grounded and generated through the Manichean division, presupposing the purity of blood. This story is set upon a premise that pure blood is taken for granted as a sign of Chinese nationality, while impure blood is taken as a sign of racial hybridity. Thus, the purity or impurity of blood becomes a key index for demarcating racial difference, serving as a focal point for locating racial hybridity in the order of races. Along with the presentation of the bifurcated Manichean world, the use of metonymy is another powerful and pervasive technique in narrative for abstracting and representing racial images of the self and the other. The trope of physical features and hair plays a pivotal role in developing story lines; their symbolic

¹⁵⁵The cause of the father's death remains ambiguous in the narrative. When Kaosuofu gets injured from the ruckus with the Japanese, the father leaves home and does not return in the end. The Chinese narrator asks Kaosuofu whether he died in a Japanese gendarmerie, but he simply answered that his father died for him. Luo, *Lu Feng wenji*, 23-26.

¹⁵⁶Abdul R. JanMohamed, "The Economy of Manichean Allegory: The Function of Racial Difference in Colonial Literature," *Critical Inquiry* 12 (Autumn 1985): 63.

meaning to Chinese culture conveys the thematic message of the Chinese construction of race and nationality as well as Kaosuofu's response to it and his own composition. Moreover, the protagonist uses images of a pig to represent the inferiority of Chinese nationality. In this regard, this story demonstrates how non-colonizers employed and structured Manichean allegories and a metonymic rhetoric in order for them to claim and impart significance to their own sense of racial and national identity.

To begin with, the rhetoric of differentiation between the Chinese and the mixed-blood Kaosuofu is founded on an a priori postulation in which there is such a thing as pure blood inherent in the Chinese.¹⁵⁷ The story clearly shows an inseparable relationship between the configuration of race and the formation of nationality based on the dichotomy of pure and mixed blood. The differentiation between the two and their constructions are not mutually exclusive, so it is impossible to form the ideology of purity and impurity without one or the other. In order for the Chinese to establish the purity of Chinese nationality, an impure people must be discovered and defined to configure and disseminate racial ideology. By taking the pure blood of Chinese people as an axiomatic 'truth,' Kaosuofu's 'impurity' as the Other emerges, and the power of language formulates it further.

The Chinese word *hunxuezhong* (a mixed-blood race) evidently denotes its racial value;¹⁵⁸ it reflects the Chinese's perception of race and a hierarchal evaluation

¹⁵⁷In contrast to this perception, Feisheng, a polemicist, in Zhejiang argued in 1903 that Russians were a "crossbreed between Europeans and Asians and nothing else." Russians' lack of the capacity to form groups is due to this racial heterogeneity. Frank Dikötter, *The Discourse of Race in Modern China* (Stanford: Stanford University, 1992), 110. Following this line of reasoning, in fact, there is no difference between the Chinese and Russians. However, the production of this kind of racial discourse was aimed at demonstrating Han-centered racial purity, superiority, and inferiority by comparing it with other people.

¹⁵⁸The Chinese term, *hunxue'r* (a mixed-blood child) is still used. In Korean and Japanese, the same character is used to denote a 'mixed-blood' child, although the Japanese character for *ji* (in Chinese *er*, Japanese *kanji*, *konketsuji*) is slightly different from those of Chinese *hanzi* and Korean *hanja*. Korean and Japanese terms show the level of discrimination against "mixed-blood" people. In Japanese, *ainoko* is a very derogatory word, often referring to mixtures resulting from animals' coition. *Haafu* (half) is also used as alternatives to *konketsuji*, (<http://ja.wikipedia.org/wiki/%E6%B7%B7%E8%A1%80>, accessed on March 27, 2006), but compared to the English word, mixed, it has discriminatory meaning. Besides these two, *mikkusu* (mixed) is also used and *daburu* (double) is suggested to replace *haafu*. *Tigi*

of ‘mixed blood’ over ‘pure blood,’ which in fact is also a construction. The word *hun* means to mix, blend, and mingle and it also means to confuse as a result of mixing something, thereby generating ambiguity. The word itself often combines with other terms to create negative, even offensive, meanings in the Chinese language, such as *hundun* (same as 牛頓) and *hunzhang*, denoting bastard, or son of a bitch. *Zhong*, signifying seed, species, and race, is part of words such as *zazhong* (a child born out of wedlock or an illicit child or a child from bicultural/interracial family) or *renzhong* (race). In the story, *huangzhong* (yellow race) refers to the Japanese.¹⁵⁹ However, it is worthwhile to note that Deleuze and Guattari demonstrate the fallacy of construction of racial ideology by reordering mixed blood as the ‘origin’ of race. They conversely use the trope of mixed blood to repudiate the logic of the production of race, deriving their argument from the idea of purity and impurity as they discuss nomadology and a smooth space.

is a derogatory Korean term for mixed-blood. Some Koreans use the word *kukjea* (international child/children) and try to promote that term. However, ‘mixed-blood’ is still very dominant and widely used. Most people are unaware of the problem of this word, embedded within racial value. Recently, *kosian* combined with Korean and Asian is used to refer to children of Koreans and peoples from Southeast Asian countries.

¹⁵⁹Luo, *Lu Feng wenji*, 17. Emma Jinhua Teng offers a list of translated Chinese words referring to hybridity or amalgamation such as “*jiaozhong* (crossing of race, interbreeding), *zajiao* (crossbreeding, hybridization, mongrelization)” during the Late Qing period and argues that these words are embedded with Chinese intellectuals’ positive evaluation of hybridity, in contrast with the dominant Western view of the term, which is marked as degeneration. She states that these concepts have “positive values within the Chinese philosophical tradition.” Teng, “Eurasian Hybridity in Chinese Utopian Visions,” 137. The author has presented “the Chinese philosophical tradition” without discussing its content fully, so it is unclear how these terms have positive meanings and values “within the Chinese philosophical tradition.” Ibid., 137. I think Chinese intellectuals at that time assigned these values with positive connotations, but more research is needed on the relationship between the terminology and Chinese tradition in philosophy and discourse.

Frank Dikötter’s study, *The Discourse of Race in Modern China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992) deals with the Chinese constructions of race from pre-modern times to contemporary times and traces the discourse on race and racism in China. He argues that Chinese perceptions of race changed according to the deployment of terms and the production of meaning and intellectuals’ fluctuating perspectives. For instance, race was understood as ‘nation’ (1903-1915) and then ‘species and seed’ (1915-1949). However, it is doubtful whether we can draw such a distinctive line according to historical periods. He traces the origin of the yellow race, signifying Chinese, from the Yellow Emperor. (56-57) Dikötter’s thesis is also very problematic in that the modern conception of race cannot be equated with the early perception of the people. In the author’s formulation, the continuity of the construction of race over time has been emphasized. Also, he barely touches upon the issue of hybridity.

The race exists only at the level of an oppressed race, and in the name of the oppression it suffers: there is no race but inferior, minoritarian; there is no dominant race; a race is defined not by its purity but rather by the impurity conferred upon it by a system of domination. Bastard and mixed- blood are the true names of race.¹⁶⁰

The trope of water is also used to represent racial hybridity, but unlike the negatively charged *hun*, water seems to carry few or no racial values. When Kaosuofu is imprisoned, the Chinese prisoners call him “*liang he shui* (mixed/blended water),” a northern dialect’s phrase expressing mixed blood. (24) Given the quality of the water, characterized as ‘pure’ when it is not mixed with other ingredients, this word evokes a neutralized image of racial hybridity, even further diluting the existing power of purity of constructed Chinese nationality. In addition, water *per se* is free of color, serving as one of the noticeable indexes for marking racial difference. Even if two different types of water, both without added ingredients or alteration, combine, they do not become any different. The use of an alternative term for defining mixed-bloods distinctively rejects the ways in which a particular group of people creates race and racial perceptions simultaneously to express racial purity and the hegemony of pure blood; such an alternative term offers to rethink and contest the logic underlying the conception of the normalcy of pure blood embedded in the language. Judging from the overall development of the story and the ending in which Kaosuofu is defined as *hunxue’r* (a mixed-blood), the author appears to adopt this dialectical phrase inadvertently in the process of his creative writing, since the maintenance and fortification of the homogeneity of Chinese nationality is his central concern, rather than the purpose of questioning it. Nonetheless, the production of a racial discourse drawn from aquatic imagery suggests how language helps construct racial ideology while functioning as the very source to contest it.

¹⁶⁰Gilles Deleuze, Félix Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, trans. Brian Massumi (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987), 379.

In the nineteenth century United States, Lydia Maria Child adopted floral and horticultural signs purposely and perceptively in order to advocate miscegenation and to challenge and rectify the existing, negative significance of hybridity in scientific discourse in her novel *Romance of the Republic* (1867). According to Debra J. Rosenthal, “Child’s agenda of promoting racial equality and interracial marriage concurs with this botany manual that grafting and hybridizing results in ‘improving of the quality’ of the species. Here hybridity is a strength, not a method of degenerating a species or race. In finding such a positive model of species mixture, Child anchors her heroine’s miscegenated heritage in the virtuous floral world and thus corrects the pejorative bestial rhetorics of hybridity.”¹⁶¹ This new formulation of hybridity based on botanical imaginary subverts the negative meaning of hybridity and suggests a fresh vision of a hybrid and grafted race in the nation-building phase of the United States. In a sense, Child’s attempt to validate hybridity and hybridization echoes their affirmation by Chinese intellectuals during the Chinese Republic, as observed by Emma Teng in the introduction of this chapter, although their ultimate purposes differ.

In sum, the word, *hunxue’r* (a mixed-blood child) signifies that having pure Chinese blood is a foremost, indispensable prerequisite for becoming Chinese, otherwise Kaosuofu can merely be part of a mixed race, not a Chinese national. Therefore, peoples of mixed blood must be distinguished from the ‘pure’ Chinese and defined through the language of the purity of blood in order to form a unified Chinese nationality. However, *liang he shui* (mixed water), a Northern dialectical term referring to a racial hybrid, does not imply a negative meaning, and a Chinese prisoner calls Kaosuofu a person of mixed water in the cell. (24) The regional practice of denoting racial hybridity through aquatic symbolism is less concerned with the

¹⁶¹Debra J. Rosenthal, *Race Mixture in Nineteenth-Century U.S. & Spanish America Fictions: Gender, Culture, & Nation Building* (Chapel Hill and London: The University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 95-108.

construction of racial purity than the evocation of the sexual act and reproduction in the Chinese cultural context; clouds and rain, *yun yu*, in the Chinese language stands for sexual intercourse. According to Robert Hans van Gulik, “Chinese sexological and pornographic literature explain the ‘clouds’ as the ova and vaginal secretions of woman, and the ‘rain’ as the emission of semen of the man.”¹⁶² This analogy originates in Sung Yu’s “Poetical Essay on Kao-t’ang” in the third century B.C. in which the Lady of the Wu Mountain was active as she had sexual intercourse with a king. Even in the *I-ching* (*The Book of Changes*) and the Theory of the Five Elements, the systematization of the cosmic and natural worlds, water is *yin*, a female element. Gulik explains that “the *I-ching* divides yin and yang each in a ‘greater’ and a ‘lesser’ aspect; the former represents either force at maximum, the latter at is minimum.”¹⁶³ They are in symbiosis and complementary to each other by balancing out each of their greater and lesser forces.¹⁶⁴ The image of combining two waters, in this sense, inscribes female active agency as well as sexual union. In Child’s semiotics of floral and horticultural worlds, flowers are also intimately linked to sexuality in that they represent sexual organs for reproduction.¹⁶⁵ In this regard, the local appellation of mixed-bloods as water and its semiotic association can function as a word container for the creation of a counter-discourse that advocates and legitimates interracial mixing by people at the discursive level. Thus, this semiotic substitution of mixed-blood for mixed-water precisely reveals how language multivalently (un)marks racial boundaries at the same time.

In addition to presenting two opposite racial visions through the images of blood and water, hair is another fundamental trope in the construction of Kaosuofu’s

¹⁶²Robert Hans van Gulik, *Sexual Life in Ancient China: A Preliminary Survey of Chinese Sex and Society from ca 1500 B.C. till 1644 A.D.* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2003), 39.

¹⁶³Gulik, *Sexual Life in Ancient China*, 38-41.

¹⁶⁴*Ibid.*, 38-41.

¹⁶⁵Rosenthal, *Race Mixture in Nineteenth-Century U.S. & Spanish America Fictions*, 107.

racial identity. Kaosuofu has black, curly hair; in the story, it represents his 'hybrid,' racial origin as half-Chinese and half-Russian, while displaying to the Chinese narrator the Chinese side of his racial identity. According to the narrator, Kaosuofu's black hair is the emblem of his Chinese origin and an object to eliminate. (15) Therefore, he has his hair shaved. When he becomes close to his Japanese friends, the narrator states that Kaosuofu's black hair starts to grow "like buds exposed to the spring rain in a plain." (17) It is an important narrative device that foregrounds Kaosuofu's choice of national identity and the affirmation of his "Chineseness." At the same time, it also implies his assimilation into Japanese culture with respect to the symbolism of hair once abnegated. With hair, the significance of his physical features is also defined according to 'Chinese' cultural symbolism, particularly in the representation of hair. The identification of Kaosuofu's black hair with the Chinese aspect of his identity is percolated through the ideology of Chinese nationalism and Confucianism.

First, the male Chinese narrator defines the symbolic meaning of the color of Kaosuofu's hair, based on his Chinese cultural heritage, in deliberate attempt to dramatize his shifting formation of racial and national identity. In the Chinese cultural context, hair is part of the body that must be wholly retained in practicing the Confucian idea of filial piety. However, especially after China encountered Japanese and Western imperialism, it came to embody the symbol of national humiliation. Reformers accepted the removal of the queue as a sign of the adoption of Japanese and Western modernity, whereas people in rural areas viewed the preservation of the queue as the continuation of tradition and custom. The Chinese's queue in Western countries was the object of derision and it was often called 'pig-tail or savage.'¹⁶⁶ The

¹⁶⁶For more detailed discussion on hair and its cultural symbolism from Manchu rule to modern Chinese history, see Michael R. Godly, "The End of the Queue: Hair as Symbol in Chinese History," *East Asian History* 9 (1994): 53-72.

description of the Kaosuofu's wish to keep his hair and take it to his grave reflects Confucian cultural values in the sense that the preservation of the body unharmed is one of fundamental Confucian precepts as a way of expressing filial piety for parents; hair is, therefore, a hallmark of the physical and cultural inheritance passed down from parents and ancestors.

However, how and why does Kaosuofu suddenly come to know and practice this Confucian value? In view of the development of the overall narrative, this ending is rather abrupt and manipulative. Given the fact that White Russians may have black hair and Chinese people and other Asians may have dark brown hair, the symbolism of the color of hair is somewhat unconvincing. Descriptions of the color of hair can also be contingent upon the viewer's perception and own understanding of color, which varies from person to person according to a personal sense of color and standards. Furthermore, curly hair is not so uncommon among some Asians. This is a clear example of a construction of Otherness using physical features in which color erroneously represents racial origin and reveals the inseparable relationship between the Other and visibility. Moreover, the symbolism of hair represents the whole of China through the images of Kaosuofu's father as well as his hybridity, showing how racial hybrids and Chinese among non-colonizing whites mutually construct racial images and values. In short, as JanMohamed correctly points out, the economy of Manichean allegory operates on the basis of a "transformation of racial difference into moral and even metaphysical difference."¹⁶⁷ Founded upon the creation of physiological and physical difference, non-colonizers map out and extend racial

It is well known that Lu Xun's short story "The Story of Hair" also describes the significance of hair and the pig tail in Chinese history and culture and shows the vanity of the Revolution of 1911 in an ironic way; it is imbedded with his deep concern for the enlightenment of the masses.

According to Frank Dikötter, since the seventeenth century, the color of Westerners' hair and their bodily hairiness were the key elements when Chinese intellectuals described them. Dikötter, *The Discourse of Race in Modern China*, 44-48. Thus this is an opposite example of showing how the Chinese constructed stereotypical images of Westerners.

¹⁶⁷ Abdul R. JanMohamed, "The Economy of Manichean Allegory," 61.

difference into the realms of history, female sexuality, and personal political proclivity and position by gendering race to produce racial hierarchy.

The Feminization of Racial Hybridity and the Masculinization of Chinese Nationality: The Chinese Father, History, and Political Nationalism

In tandem with the discourse of impurity of blood and physical features, gendered images of the Other and culture are also an integral source for the construction of alterity. It, too, is an important factor to differentiate Kaosuofu from the Chinese and to draw the line of racial and national demarcation between them. He is an object of beauty, viewed as if he were a lady. (17) The representation of his ‘feminized’ image, on the one hand, can indicate his physical appearance; on the other hand, it indexes the Chinese narrator’s latent or obvious desire to subordinate Kaosuofu’s ‘feminine’ aspect to the narrator’s ‘masculinity,’ deriving from his tacit presupposition of a unified Chinese racial origin that features Chinese society. Also, this gendered image of the Other exactly parallels the Chinese narrator’s self-identification with glorious Chinese history. When the narrator and Kaosuofu interact with each other, he reduces Kaosuofu’s Russian cultural heritage to the Russian food his mother provides, whereas the narrator often brags about “parts of the most glorious Chinese past history” culled from a classical Chinese novel such as *The Romance of the Three Kingdoms*. (15) These markers of national glory provide the narrator with the proper, though stilted, emotions to overcome his perception of Kaosuofu’s defamation of China, thereby allowing him psychological dominance over Kaosuofu. Thus, the magnificent Chinese history becomes a powerful means by which to surpass Kaosuofu’s belittlement of the Chinese. For the same purpose, the Chinese ‘masculine’ subject compresses Russian culture to a dietary item in order to highlight the grand narrative of the Chinese past. In this respect, the deployment of gendered images of physical features and culture is a double objectification and marginalization

of the Other. The effeminate Other becomes the object providing visibility and the pleasure of seeing it.¹⁶⁸ Furthermore, the Chinese man has authority and power to determine the Other's significance and value that are completely subject to Chinese 'masculinity,' thereby centering the narrating subject on the stage of Chinese history.

The Chinese narrator also reveals a tendency of gendering Chinese and Russian national identity as he describes the Chinese father and the Russian mother, much like his depictions of Kaosuofu as the Other with 'feminine' images associated with gendered value. Kaosuofu's father in a sense stands for the Chinese family and China as the objects of humiliation by Westerners and the Japanese. His father is a diligent carpenter; he is neither educated nor clean, and his son calls him a pig. (15) Kaosuofu's father not only embodies his personal, hygienic status but also symbolizes China's situation, in which modern, Western concepts and standards of hygiene became criteria to define Chinese nationality. In this respect, Kaosuofu serves as a Western Other, who evaluates China's sanitation through a colonial prism and forges racial images, producing a hierarchical order of people according to Western hygiene standards.¹⁶⁹ However, identifying black hair with his Chinese identity from his father's side erases his Russian identity from his mother's side; after all, Kaosuofu acknowledges the former only when he finally defines his national identity right before his death in the cell. The affirmation of his Chinese father in the end implies that the two sides of his racial heritage cannot coexist for the Chinese or for himself, and that the gaze of the Chinese constantly controls him and fixes him in one dominant way. To become a Chinese man, Kaosuofu must kill the Japanese for his father and the Chinese; otherwise, he cannot be accepted as a Chinese man in Chinese

¹⁶⁸In the story, the Chinese term, *bao yanfu* (cast one's eyes on something) is used to describe the Chinese's interest in him. (14) This expression clearly connotes his role as the Other in the narrative.

¹⁶⁹This stereotypical image of the filthy Chinese is very common and dominant in the Chinese diaspora communities in the Far East even in contemporary times. See Galina Vitkovskaya et al., "Chinese Migration into Russia," in *Rapprochement or Rivalry?: Russia-China Relations in a Changing Asia*, ed. Sherman W. Garnett (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2000), 361-364.

society. In so doing, his Russian mother must disappear and remain completely silent to permit the establishment of the Chinese-centered, national subject and nationality.

Kaosuofu's relationship with his Russian mother is built upon the Confucian value system, and he plays the role of patriarch in the family, the one who evaluates the normalcy of women's conduct and has power and authority to give meaning to it. He bears a grudge against his mother for her marriage to a Chinese man and abuses her verbally in Russian, throwing tantrums and going into fits of rage toward her: "Tell me, why did you get married to a Chinese man?" "You are a woman who does not feel shame!" (15-16) When he pours pent-up resentment and intense emotions at the mother, Kaosuofu first and foremost considers the mother's choice of marriage as the cause of his ambiguous racial and national identity. Since her interracial marriage goes against the proper norms of women, she undoubtedly deserves criticism and rejection. Similarly, even in the early American colonial period, literary and visual representations of captivity predominantly treated the preservation of female sexuality by protecting it from nonwhite men. They expressed white male anxiety about blurring racial purity and undermining the white hegemony, resulting from white women's intercourse with nonwhite men. By depicting nonwhite sexuality as lascivious and aberrant, the normalcy of white sexuality is predetermined, constructed, and securely warranted. As the result of the authorization of white male sexuality and the rejection of female sexuality, sexual morality becomes another important means of establishing white identity and whiteness along with skin color, religion, and origins of citizenship.¹⁷⁰ Kaosuofu's concern with his mother's sexual morality is two-fold: on the one hand, it reflects a young 'white' man's burden, to protect, as a white man should, his mother's sexual purity from the Chinese man; on the other hand, it

¹⁷⁰Valerie Babb, *Whiteness Visible: the Meaning of Whiteness in the American Culture and Literature* (New York and London: New York University Press, 1998), 74-76.

manifests his desire to maintain Russian racial purity as a member of the white race, which is bolstered and even further by Chinese Confucian ideology and gender norms.

However, at the same time he also identifies with his mother's heritage by calling the Chinese pigs, demonstrating his racial superiority to the Chinese. In fact, this is the reason he attends a Russian school. His way of colonizing the Chinese is rooted in the affirmation of racial and cultural superiority and his desire to be identified with an advanced people. It is the feature distinguishing him from the Chinese in response to his exclusion from Chinese society. At the same time, he is so empowered that he can judge his mother's propriety as a woman and the legitimacy of her marriage. Thus, the young 'white' man reproduces and reinforces gender ideology by subordinating the mother to him in the domestic space.

In spite of Kaosuofu's partial recognition of his mother's heritage for the purpose of colonizing the Chinese, his 'hybrid' status also provides the possibility to negotiate between his parents' heritages; the protagonist's refusal to use his Chinese name and to attend a Russian school show that the father is not the only subject which can furnish him with sources for shaping social and national identity; and his mother's cultural heritage can contribute to the formation of Kaosuofu's identity. Although Kaosuofu's choice does not come from the complete affirmation of his mother's identity, these choices clearly manifest the conflict between paternal and maternal heritage in defining self-identity and national identity. Shi Jun's "Hunxue'r" (Mixed-blood Children) more remarkably describes this contention, which I will discuss in greater depth in a later section of this chapter.

The Chinese narrator's changes of voice in the narrative further condition and control Kaosuofu's own struggle to define his racial and national identity. The narrator's voice toward the Chinese is crucial to representing the image of innocent

Chinese. Apparently, he speaks in the defense of the Chinese, who constantly ask Kaosuofu about his nationality, although they know of it, already.

However, why are people [the Chinese] insistent on asking about it when they already know it, making him [Kaosuofu] feel ashamed and resentful? Perhaps, they just need to do this; they need to be curious about his extraordinary appearance, so that they highlight his beauty in order to feast their eyes on it. At most, it is just to feast their eyes; no one would attempt to tease [him] too much, a child, especially a boy. But Kaosuofu misunderstands it. He does not understand other people intend to just tease him. Of course, Kaosuofu is not old enough to understand this [this means they want to just look at him and his strange appearance, narrator's intrusion]. He thinks they all intentionally seek to amuse themselves at his expense. He considers it a galling shame and deep humiliation. (14)

The Chinese narrator justifies the Chinese objectification of Kaosuofu for their amusement and disguises this objectification as something unintended and harmless, including his own reveling in their curiosity about Kaosuofu's nationality and his loyalty to China. The narrator is the same or similar age as Kaosuofu; however, in order to vindicate the innocence of the Chinese, he intrudes into the story and adds a couple of editorial, explanatory remarks, such as "no one would attempt to tease him too much," and "Kaosuofu is not old enough to understand this." Because of Kaosuofu's age, he does not understand the Chinese's intention to ask him about his nationality is from their curiosity and allow them to look their fill at him. The insertion of editorial comments on the actual meaning of the Chinese derision of Kaosuofu serves as literary gimmickry; since the Chinese social collective demands that he be identified as Chinese yet simultaneously differentiated from them are attributed entirely to his own immaturity, tactically veiling the tragedy of Kaosuofu's life buffeted about by the Chinese social gaze. Yet at the same time, the narrator's change of voice from a boy to an adult such as "Kaosuofu is not old enough to understand this" demonstrates a shaky ground on which he forges an inconsistent narration through the validation of the Chinese discrimination against Kaosuofu. Thus, the

narrator's own discrepancy vitiates the reliability and credibility of the story, thereby bringing forth a complete loss of its persuasive power.

Upon closer scrutiny, the role of the narrator amplifies the complexity of the story with his attitudes toward Kaosuofu and the Chinese, narrative objects. At first glance, the narrator's voice sounds friendly with favorable comments. Yet in fact, it is inscribed with severe, linguistic violence resulting from the perception of racial and national homogeneity at the thematic level in the story since the narrator determines and controls Kaosuofu's ontological status and significance. From beginning to end, the definition of Kaosuofu's national identity is a key issue for the Chinese narrator. When the Chinese narrator visits Kaosuofu, injured by the Japanese in a fight, he still wants to confirm his nationality and asks him: "I ask you, just what is your nationality?"¹⁷¹ Kaosuofu avoids this question; instead, he cuts his hair, implying his complete denial of his previous relationship with the Japanese. Even in the cell, the Chinese prisoners and a Japanese warden ambiguously define his national identity. As mentioned above, the Chinese prisoners call him "*liang he shui* (mixed water), but the Japanese warden says to them: "he [Kaosuofu] is an assassin who was dispatched from Russia . . ." (24)

The narrator's tenacious attention to Kaosuofu's nationality and his attempt to define it as uniquely Chinese, rather than through the multiplicity of social and national identities, are derived from the stark division between we-'Chineseness' and alterity that also in part contains 'Chineseness' and the commensurability of nationality. Due to the inherent assumption that the Chinese narrator does not have mixed blood, which in fact is not necessarily true, the narrator and everyone around him incessantly and compulsively question Kaosuofu's racial and national identity and must orient his identity around the singularity of 'Chineseness.' The blind, underlying

¹⁷¹The original Chinese sentence uses the adverb, *jiujing*, and it is used in questions, especially in which speakers press listeners to provide exact answers.

premise of a homogenous, unifying nationality forces Kaosuofu to shape one particular, dominant identity, so that he can maintain that homogeneity which is formed by political proclivity and position and cultural practice. This is the actual violence the Chinese and the Chinese narrator inflict upon Kaosuofu in the story. The narrator's control over the narrative object in accordance with the dichotomy between colonizer/victimizer and colonized/ victimized totally conceals the serious harm imposed upon Kaosuofu. It is further glorified by the narrator to the degree that, as an old friend, he actually helps Kaosuofu find and shape his national identity.

Whenever Kaosuofu is in trouble because of the Japanese, he calls upon the Chinese narrator. The narrator plays the role of Kaosuofu's true friend as he is the only one who can understand Kaosuofu's resistance to Japanese imperialism. Kaosuofu himself affirms this image with a reference to 'good' Chinese. When the Chinese narrator talks with Kaosuofu about the possibility of changing his nationality, Kaosuofu says, "you cannot, you are a very good Chinese, you cannot become dirty!" (22) The narrator guides readers to view the construction of this positive image of himself and the Chinese through his control over the narrative and language. After Kaosuofu attends the Russian school, the narrator feels somewhat distant from Kaosuofu, especially when he is with Kaosuofu's school friends. It seems that he hears Kaosuofu's abuse of Chinese in calling them pigs. At this time, he does not understand Kaosuofu's Russian conversations with them at all, and he feels that Kaosuofu is mocking him. (16) However, when Kaosuofu is injured after the fight with the Japanese and the narrator visits him, the narrator understands Kaosuofu mother's saying in Russian, "Dear, the friend you wanted to see came!" Then Kaosuofu repeats in Chinese: "my good friend, my good friend. . . ." (21) The (in)ability of the Chinese narrator to understand Russian is manipulated to underline his friendship as a colonized Chinese, who in fact includes and accepts Kaosuofu in society only when he

rejects Japanese imperialism as the good Chinese do. Again, the narrator reintroduces the stark dichotomy between colonizer and colonized based on national boundaries to stress the innocence of the Chinese and their guilt-free status. This unreliability and inconsistency of narration reveal that the Chinese narrator's construction of race and nationality is only possible through his power and control over the narrative and the narrative object. Ironically, it is the very power and control he exerts that can also weaken or undermine the validity and legitimacy of his narration by virtue of the very unstable structure of discrepancy he constructs.

In the end, despite Kaosuofu's strenuous attempts to define his racial and national identity, the Chinese narrator defines it as a "mixed-blood (*hunxue zhong de*), strange, and beautiful man, Kaosuofu." (27) Kaosuofu's every effort to become 'Chinese' turns out to be futile and insignificant because he has no power in the narrative to define his Chinese nationality. The final positioning of his identity serves as an ironic indication of the aporia of hybrid identity, because in the end, it is others who define his racial and national identity, not himself. In other words, it adds a dubitable note to the narrator's rejection of Kaosuofu's Chinese nationality, since Kaosuofu's claim for Chinese nationality holds true, at least for himself at the moment when he wishes to position himself as such, the very opposite of what otherwise looks like, thereby conversely exposing the unbridgeable gap between self-positioning and others' problematic, arbitrary positing of hybrids. It is the punch line of the story that a Chinese man is the final agent who determines Kaosuofu's social and national status in China and articulates racial hybridity's voice for Chinese readers. Kaosuofu is on the horns of a dilemma in which he must choose one side of his cultural national identity that is constantly interpreted and controlled by a dominant, Chinese social gaze; his unlocatable and indeterminable subjectivity becomes a site of struggle for recognition and acceptance. He is caught up in his social coercion to choose cultural

and national sources that are totally determined by political situations in which peoples are divided through the social logic of colonizer/victimizer and colonized/victimized, while being defined by the Chinese, who hold fast to that binary to construct a Chinese nationality. The Chinese and the Chinese narrator's pertinacious questioning of Kaosuofu's exact nationality springs from Chinese discomfort and phobia that persist in his own and the local community's mindsets; Kaosuofu's racial, national ambiguity can disturbingly blur the distinctive racial, national, and cultural boundaries between 'Chinese' and 'Russian,' and it thus undermines and poses a threat to the unifying, homogenous nationality of China.

Under the circumstances in which distinctions, boundaries, and inner discrimination operate in the social logic of inclusion and exclusion of certain groups of people, the more Kaosuofu desires to integrate himself into Chinese society as a racial hybrid, the more society makes it impossible for him to achieve this goal because of the constructions of racial and national division and categories of people and their compliance with them. Within Chinese society, Kaosuofu plays the role of the Other, who must be distinguished from the dominant group. This social formation contributes to the establishment of the racial and national division between the Chinese and the foreign Other and *métissage*, between whom racial and national relations and power are asymmetrical and are contingent on the former in the end. Mixed-bloods, in this respect, are totally excluded from society and the nation and are objects to be seen and defined in order not to constitute them as independent, free subjects.

Racial Hybridity in Detective Fiction: Performativity, Foreignness, and Female (Dis) Empowerment in Ding Ning's "A Mixed-Blood Woman"

The Chinese in Ding Ning's short story, "Hunxue nǚláng" (A mixed-blood woman), define racial hybridity as a foreigner, entirely severed from Chinese racial

and cultural lineage. The story is more concerned with how the Chinese perceive a racial hybrid as a foreigner, while showing a mixed-blood woman's unfailing effort to demonstrate her allegiance to family and Manchukuo even at the risk of her life by playing a detective role in the story; it describes a female mixed-blood's courageous activity to prevent counterespionage and save her nephew. The adoption of detective fiction opens up a new narrative space for popular literature in terms of reception theory¹⁷²; it contributes to the diversification of literary genre and the enhancement of readers' appreciation, while it represents and mobilizes the ideas of race and racial thinking in popular culture. In the following discussion, I interpret the story in terms of reception theory and show its literary achievements as well as the ways in which it constructs race and foreignness. The first two opening remarks of the story present a mystery to be investigated and resolved; they captivate readers' attention immediately and readily intrigue them. The story starts as follows:

Strange Missing

A mixed-blood woman, Mali suddenly is left holding her elder male cousin's baby in her arms; his wife is anxious to look for them everywhere.

Although they knew each other, they acted out a farce of not recognizing each other.

The terrifying activities by a spy ring are exposed by Mali's visit.¹⁷³

Strange missing Where exactly did they go? Mari is not here!
Is it Mali? Imminent peril The truth of the incident A
frightening spy ring.¹⁷⁴

¹⁷²This framework is relevant to the interpretation of the story. Readers enjoyed detective fiction very much at that time. They sent letters to the magazine publisher and requested an increase in such stories; however, the publisher declined this request because space in the magazine was limited. The publisher was not able to increase them as much as the readers wanted; however, the publisher decided to publish at least one detective story per month to meet readers' demands. "Duzhe xinxiang"(Letter box for readers), *Xin manzhou* (New Manchuria) 5. 9 (September 1943): 68.

¹⁷³Ding Ning, "Hunxue nülang" (A mixed-blood woman), *Xin manzhou* (New Manchuria) 6.4 (1944): 16.

¹⁷⁴*Ibid.*, 16.

Synopsis

The story tells of a search for a missing daughter who is purportedly kidnapped by Mali, her mixed-blood aunt, who is the offspring of an interracial union between a Russian father and a Chinese mother. Shulan, the baby's mother, and Yiye, her father, receive a letter supposedly from Mali, warning them not to let other people know where she is, nor to report it to the police, otherwise their daughter's life will be in danger. Stupefied by this blackmail letter, the couple secretly report this incident to the police, having a hunch that the police will not detect any clues if they do not trace Mali on the basis of her foreign complexion, a visible sign of her racial mixture. Thus, Shulan takes the initiative, leaving her husband behind, and goes to find her daughter with information gleaned from a bar and the address from the letter. Upon arrival, much to her surprise, she discovers that Mali is living with Baoerdun, a foreigner whose role is as the villain in the story, and Mali is pretending to be his wife. Intimidated by Shulan's plan to report the case to the police, he takes out a pistol to prevent her from leaving to report the crime. At this point, Mali stabs Baoerdun's side and stomach with a dagger and discloses her true identity as Mali. She overcomes Baoerdun in a fierce tussle, and takes a key from his clothing, asking Shulan to use it to save her daughter, who is confined in the basement. As a result of Mali's intrepid action, the victim is rescued and the conflict is resolved. Baoerdun turns out to be a double agent who works for both his own and a third country.¹⁷⁵

At first read, the story seems to be created to support Manchukuo's counterespionage policy in order for its nationals to remain vigilant about it in daily life, serving as political propaganda through its fictional representation. However, what makes it genuinely intriguing is that the employment of the detective fiction genre *per se* opens up a possibility for a new mode of reading and interpretation,

¹⁷⁵Ibid., 16-22.

centering a hybrid's racial formation and gender politics under the rubric of Chinese nationalism.¹⁷⁶ It is noticeable that the police, whose role should be tantamount to being detectives in the story, are far less important than the two females in developing the narrative; more accurately put, the police are presented as a kind of backdrop either to show the nationals' enactment of state policy or to threaten the foreign antagonist, the spy. Thus, all females play the roles of detective and victim, and their appearance and nationality are different, revealing one of the salient features of the story. Moreover, the story vividly depicts how a mixed-blood spy can simultaneously be included and excluded in the family as the basic unit for forming nation-states, although the ending still leaves room for further interpretation as to the final determination of Mali's racial and national status and identity. By representing a racially mixed female character and her gallant activity for the prevention of espionage, the constructions of race and nationality come to the fore.

With these thematic concerns in mind, this section begins by reviewing the existing Chinese scholarship on detective fiction and introduces an article on the state's counterespionage policy at that time to understand the social and historical milieu in which the text was produced. It then compares the use of the Chinese detective fiction genre to the Euro-American one in terms of its formula and narrative devices and its impact on the development of literature in Manchukuo as well as on the genre itself. Along with discussions of characteristics of genre and narrative, I analyze the ways in which the story represents and constructs hybrid identity as a

¹⁷⁶Lin Ding's article, "My Opinion on Literature and Art from *New Manchurian* during the First Half Year of 1944," describes the characteristics of the story and defines it as a detective story with the following: "Although the headline is entitled anti-espionage fiction (*fangdie xiaoshuo*), its intention has a strong characteristic of detective fiction (*zhentan xiaoshuo*). The spy in this story is merely treated as an offender of detective fiction." He further insists that even if it stands as a spy story, it gains its meaning only when readers truly feel a need for anti-espionage or identify the foes' spy activities as horrible and detestable. Ling Ding, "Kangde shiyiniandu shangbannian xinmanzhou wenyi zhi woguan," *Xin manzhou* (New Manchuria) 6.10 (October 1944): 38. This article is helpful in understanding how a literary critic defines the characteristics of the story, but his view is confined to the state's concern about counterespionage.

foreigner, even though the “foreigner” is in fact of Chinese racial ‘origin,’ as well as the ways in which it racially polarizes Chinese and foreigners through a Chinese nationalist’s gaze. Moreover, I explore the significance of the females’ active roles as opposed to the male inactive police in the detective story, which reiterates the racial hierarchy between the Chinese and ‘foreigners’ as well as female empowerment.

The State’s Counterespionage Policy and its Relation to Cultural Production

Compared with other literary genres, modern Chinese detective fiction has received little scholarly attention in China. Kong Qingdong’s article, “Detective and Humorous Fiction during the Anti-Japanese War Period,” discusses their major characteristics. He points out that detective fiction is more concerned with content regarding society, a closed style based on logic and positivism that has opened a new venue in the development of Chinese literature, with the adoption of chivalric elements.¹⁷⁷ Ren Xiang’s study, *A Landscape of Literature: a Discussion of History of Detective Fiction*, adopts a diachronic approach and traces its development from the crime novel (*gong’an xiaoshuo*) to detective fiction from the late nineteenth century until the 1970s.¹⁷⁸ With regard to detective fiction produced in the 1930s and 1940s, the author focuses on works published in Shanghai, particularly Cheng Xiaoqing’s novels, presenting him as the founder of Chinese detective fiction. She recapitulates the chief features of Cheng’s works as follows: first, his detective fiction debunks dark aspects of traditional Chinese society and the malfunction of its system. Instead, cases and mysteries are resolved by scientific methods based on logic and inference. It is

¹⁷⁷Kong Qingdong, “Kangzhan shiqi de zhentan huaji deng xiaoshuo” (Detective and humorous fiction during the anti-Japanese war period), *Zhongguo xiandai dangdai wenxue yanjiu (Research on Modern and Contemporary Chinese Literature*, translation in the original text) 3 (1999): 59-62.

¹⁷⁸Jeffrey C. Kinkley has translated this term into “court case” fiction and has defined crime fiction as “stories about crime and law that readers perceive not necessarily low but as having roots in the sensational. There are sensational subjects like crimes, and arrests, and trials.” Jeffrey C. Kinkley, *Chinese Justice, the Fiction: Law and Literature in Modern China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000) 5, 9. His study specifically deals with crime fiction and law after 1949, so it seems unclear whether “court case” fiction refers only to works set in a modern juridical form.

replete with local Shanghai traits and the traditional Chinese tone.¹⁷⁹ Ren touches upon the relationship between the detective fiction and reception theory from the perspective of the status of literature and cultural value. However, the author considers the detective novel a genre of Chinese popular literature and argues that it has particularly Chinese national characteristics. It “corresponds with the masses’ social ideals, national customs, as well as their habit of reception, appreciative mood, and the determination of esthetic power.”¹⁸⁰ On the whole, these two studies primarily address authors from Shanghai, thus, detective fiction from other regions is rarely known. More importantly, without delving into reception theory and its relation to the interpretation of the works, Ren’s study links reception theory with a presumed Chinese national readership, which is still a very moot point. Rather than assuming a collective Chinese national readership, I would like to show that detective fiction produced in Manchuria in fact serves as an effective tool for constructing unifying national subjects under the pretext of acquiescing to the state’s measures to prevent espionage, which is seemingly one of the states’ common and major concerns during wartime. Bai Te’s article “Women and Anti-Espionage” demonstrates how deeply the state was involved in this agenda for national security in order to protect nationals.¹⁸¹ Shulan as a housewife who actively copes with an incident, to a large extent reflects the state’s emphasis on housewives’ important role in preventing espionage in the family as the pillar of the society and state.

Bai’s account enumerates seven rules for housewives to keep in mind and practice in daily life in order for them to stave off espionage: housewives should first, talk less and do more work; second, they should not believe false rumors; third, they

¹⁷⁹Ren Xiang, *Wenxue de ling yidao fengjing zhentan xiaoshuo lun* (A landscape of literature: a discussion of the history of detective fiction) (Beijing: Zhongguo qingnian chubanshe, 2001), 177-174.

¹⁸⁰Ibid., 22.

¹⁸¹Bai Te, “Funü yu fangdie”(Women and Anti-Espionage), *Xin manzhou* (New Manchuria) 5. 2 (1943): 87-88.

should not spread complaints and discontent; fourth, they should not divulge secrets they know; fifth, they should not receive unsought gratuities; sixth, upon finding anything suspicious, they should make a report to the police nearby; seventh, they must show a spirit of neighborly cooperation.¹⁸² According to the author, first of all, one of the main purposes of creating the above rules lies in confronting the British and the United States by preventing them from spreading rumors through espionage, resulting in the agitation of people's minds. Second, most women in Manchukuo received little education or were basically illiterate, as a result of the state's failure to extend education among the people. Since some women particularly lacked willpower and wisdom, the state must alert them of anti-espionage more than any other part of the populace. Thus, women become an object to be educated and must be under direct control of the state. Moreover, this article offers a detailed account as to what kind of people should be attentively surveilled, awakening comprehensive awareness of potential spies dispersed amongst diverse groups of people. For instance, males and females, disguised as well-dressed gentlemen or noble ladies; young and elderly persons disguised as beggars or merchants. There will be spies even among the disabled.¹⁸³ The state's specification about hidden spy suspects in fact covers almost all ranges of the population and leads to a plethora of caution signs in curbing every aspect of people's lives, turning people and surroundings around women into objects to monitor for surveillance. This is an example of a full enactment of the state security system at the expense of their daily and social lives. In this respect, the conflict between the two different races in "A Mixed-Blood Woman" illustrates how the state attempted to penetrate deep into the governance of private and familial life, relying on the power of the mobilization of propaganda literature.

¹⁸²Ibid., 87-88.

¹⁸³Ibid., 87.

Aside from *Xin manzhou* (*New Manchuria*) where “A Mixed-Blood Woman” was published, several detective and spy stories were also published in *Qilin* (*Unicorn*), one of the most popular journals in Manchukuo at that time. According to Liu Xiaoli, four are translated works, and the emergence of spy stories derives directly from the declaration of the Total War in Japan in 1941 and reflects the exigency of wartime culture. Manchukuo asked its nationals to develop a counterespionage consciousness and coined a slogan: “Women defend inside and men defend outside, lest spying mice should come and destroy.”¹⁸⁴ She notes that spies were so mysterious that the popular imagination and investigation swirled around their purported existence; during this period, a variety of rumors pertaining to spies were widely circulated. Given that the state paid substantial attention to popular interest at the time, articles and literary works related to this topic emerged. Counterespionage fiction and film were very popular genres in Manchukuo.¹⁸⁵

Seen in this context, it is highly likely that the story was also created in part in response to the state’s growing concern with espionage because *Xinmanzhou* is a quasi- governmental magazine.¹⁸⁶ In addition, the story was published in the same journal where Bai Te’s article, “Women and Anti-Espionage,” was published. However, in the story, the categories of espionage suspects are even extended to the realm of family and racial hybridity. At the surface level, literary representations of espionage suspects and spies are used as a means through which to disseminate the state’s course of action. The mode of writing pervasively articulates and further confirms the state’s ruling ideology and its apparatus of controlling the population. At

¹⁸⁴Liu Xiaoli, “Cong <<Qilin>> zazhi kan dongbei lunxian shiqi de tongshu wenxue” (A view of popular literature during the Manchukuo period from *Qilin*,” *Zhongguo xiandai dangdai wenxue yanjiu* (*Research on Modern and Contemporary Chinese Literature*, title translation in the original text), 8 (2005): 50.

¹⁸⁵Ibid., 50.

¹⁸⁶Liu Xiaoli, “Weiman shiqi wenxue zazhi xinkao” (A new study of literary journals during the Manchukuo period), *Zhongguo xiandai wenxue yanjiu congkan* (*Modern Chinese Literature Studies*, translation in the original), 107 (2006):147.

the same time, however, depictions of women's audacious activity of investigating and defying spies challenge a gender-coded preconception of women without volition and knowledge defined by the male-centered voice presented in Bai Te's article above. Thus the existing repository of gender ideology and social order are called into question in literary imagination. Similarly, the prominence of women in the plot and the narrative structure directly contend against the rationalization of women's intellectual incompetence the state-sponsored cultural agency presumes.

Rules of Detective Fiction,¹⁸⁷ its Hermeneutic Structure, and Beyond

Detective fiction as a popular literary genre tends to be written in accordance with certain formulas and rules. The mode of writing is largely conventional and its content is likely to be conservative. Above all, the observations of the basic narrative structure of the genre help the reader understand the story and its significance in depth. In the American context, the term detective fiction originated with Poe and it has four major, recognizable features. First, detectives are principal characters, although their status varies in terms of gender, their degree of professional performance, whether they work for the state or in a private practice, and whether they work alone or with colleagues. Despite this diversity, detection and its role are principal prerequisites to creating a detective story. Second, the main plot centers on the "investigation and resolution"¹⁸⁸; whether or not the stories touch upon a variety of subjects and themes,

¹⁸⁷ John G. Cawelti uses the term "spy story" in his book, *The Spy Story* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago, 1987). It is also often called 'mystery.' I use the term 'detective fiction' here since I rely heavily on George N. Dove's study, *The Reader and the Detective Story* (Bowling Green, OH: Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 1997). Charles J. Rzepka also uses the term detective fiction as his book title. Charles J. Rzepka, *Detective Fiction* (Cambridge, UK: Polity, 2005). He explains that "[t]he first three elements of detective fiction—detective, mystery, investigation—make a conjoint appearance quite early in the history of genre. However, the fourth, the 'puzzle element,' is conspicuous by its absence during the most of this period [the nineteenth century United States]. Ibid., 10. Paul Bleton uses the term "spy fiction" in his article "French Espionage, Spy Fiction and Readers in the 1930s," since it specifically deals with literary works written on the basis of real spies, including "autobiographies, memoirs or testimonies" (190) as well as fictional works. Paul Bleton, "French Espionage, Spy Fiction and Readers in the 1930s," *Para-doxa* 1.2 (1995): 187-209.

¹⁸⁸ Dove, *The Reader and the Detective Story*, 10, 23.

detection has priority over these other elements. Third, the mystery should be complex rather than plain and seem impossible to solve. Fourth, the mystery should be resolved and its solution must be also revealed to the reader in the end, although it may not be known to the detectives.¹⁸⁹

Based on the particular structure of detective fiction, George Dove locates this formula in a hermeneutics model from the perspective of reception theory.¹⁹⁰ The conventional formula of the genre and “hermeneutic specialization” are fundamental aspects of detective fiction.¹⁹¹ The hermeneutic specialization refers to a drive, a desire to know, in readers that pushes them toward solutions, and thus they come to participate in the interpretation activity while in the process of reading by investigating the mysteries as the detectives do.¹⁹² According to reception theory, the readers generate and fill in the meanings. The area of indeterminacy becomes central to interpretations in the interactive process between text and reader. Iser defines indeterminacy as three types: “blank, negations, and negativity.” Blank is a gap and has its own structure. “The asymmetry in the reading process is created by the circumstance that the reader is always a few steps behind the texts,”¹⁹³ and the reader’s interpretations create further indeterminacy. What follows this is “negations.” “[T]hey control the process of communication. Negations situate the reader halfway between “no longer” and “not yet,” and thus guide him or her to adopt a position in relation to the text. The reader is challenged to reconcile the old negated meaning (the “no

¹⁸⁹Ibid., 10 and 23. Todorov also presents eight points that are similar to those of Dove’s. See, Tzvetan Todorov, *The Poetics of Prose*, trans. Richard Howard (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1977), 49. Todorov notes that there is no room for love and psychological analyses in detective fiction and it values logic and undervalues banality. Ibid., 49.

¹⁹⁰Dove sees Cawelti’s treatment of the formula as a cultural object, which is “text-bounded” and overlooks readers’ expectation of the formula, that is, “formula-building” (12). However, Cawelti thinks that “Dove’s approach seems to work best for the classical or ratiocinative type of detective story. Applied to the hard-boiled story, it seems less interesting. . . .” John G. Cawelti, *Mystery, Violence, and Popular Culture* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2004), 298.

¹⁹¹Ibid., 27.

¹⁹²Ibid., 29.

¹⁹³Ibid., 54.

longer” with the new one (the “not yet”)”¹⁹⁴ The imbalance between text and reader can be offset by blanks and negations. As a result, “the formulated text has an unformulated ‘double,’ somewhat like the ‘unwritten text,’ which Iser calls “negativity.” Negativity cannot be defined explicitly or determined precisely, but it does lead readers to trace and comprehend “hidden or implied meanings.”¹⁹⁵ Negativity, which is fundamental to texts, invites readers to unformulated, hollow spaces to be filled through reading activity so that the meaning of the text is produced.¹⁹⁶

The areas of indeterminacy defined as blanks, negation, and negativity are also crucial to understanding “A Mixed-Blood Woman” in greater depth. From the very beginning, the narrator creates a hollow blank by presenting a mystery, “a strange missing,” with additional information about the plot. The conventionality of the genre itself creates the blank; at the same time, questions increase and structure the blank.¹⁹⁷ Thus, the major story lines are foregrounded, and readers are ready to investigate the mystery for its solution by filling in the blanks through their reading, imagining, and interpreting. In addition to the blank, the introduction to the story specifically designating Mali, a plausible suspect, and the baby, the victim, creates negativity in that the readers immediately notice the relationship between the two, which is quite an unexpected set. This negativity is further amplified in proportion to the development of the narrative. By beginning with a kidnapping event, the story retains its reality and further unfolds to the degree that the villain’s murder attempt is shown, so that the readers follow the plot with great suspense.¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁴Ibid., 56.

¹⁹⁵Ibid., 56.

¹⁹⁶Ibid., 57.

¹⁹⁷Ibid., 67, 152-153.

¹⁹⁸Ibid., Dove notes that the story “must evolve into murder for the sake of suspense.” Dove, *The Reader and the Detective Story*, 133. But in this story, a murder does not actually occur; instead there is only an attempted murder.

Mali's letter also shows that the story is narrated on the bases of the rules of the conventions in detective fiction, inscribing a hermeneutic structure. The message as correspondence between a prospective suspect and the victim's family, whose role is in part akin to detective in the story, has "some special significance."¹⁹⁹ It provides the family, the prospective detective, and readers with further information about the victim and reconfirms the early introduction of the incident presented in the beginning. By reiterating the kernel of the event, the missing person, the story confirms conventions of the genre, while significantly embedding its hermeneutic value. Once readers understand the formula of the story and characteristics of the genre, they anticipate its development and participate in decoding the mystery.²⁰⁰

From the standpoint of characters and readers, the letter turns out to be a lie that Mali is forced to write and has significant implications in the narrative: the function of "feigned speech" as explicated by Tzvetan Todorov. He notes:

Lying belongs to a more general category, that of any inadequate speech. We may thus designate discourse in which a discrepancy appears between reference and referent between designatum and denotatum. Along with lies, we find errors, hallucinations, irony. Once we become aware of this type of discourse, we realize the fragility of that concept according to which the signification of a discourse is constituted by its referent. . . . Feigned speech is both narrative and action.²⁰¹

(Feigned) speech can remain constative in narrative but it also involves action, so that constative and performative are interrelated. "The appearance of feigned speech is indicated by a special clue: the speaker necessarily invokes truth."²⁰² After Shulan and Yiye read the letter, they are both mystified by the disparity between the subject who writes the letter and the unbelievable content.²⁰³ In this case, the letter is "speech-as-

¹⁹⁹Ibid., 87.

²⁰⁰Ibid., 86-88.

²⁰¹Todorov, *The Poetics of Prose*, 59-60.

²⁰²Ibid., 60.

²⁰³Ding, "Hunxue nulang," 17.

narrative”²⁰⁴; however, as for Mali, it becomes performative in that she is the subject who invokes the truth to prove her innocence. As Todorov points out, if lying as feigned speech shows a gap between reference and referent, then, the letter can be interpreted by the same logic. The letter written within the system of signs as a medium through which to construct concepts, meanings, and knowledge suggests that lying and the truth work like two sides of a coin and can be inverted. Along the same line, the identification and classification of Mali’s race as a mixed-blood or a foreigner and its meanings and racial ideology are also created on the bases of this fragile system of signs. The employment of this particular narrative mode precisely reveals the system of signs is unstable and always carries a gap between reference and referent.

In addition to this false letter, the narrator sets up another mysterious scene in which Mali is disguised as Baoerdun’s wife. Like the letter with feigned speech, she acts under a feigned name, Henglina, playing the role of his wife, and thus her real identity is concealed.²⁰⁵ The setting complicates the plot and prevents the story from easy revelation; as a result, the final solution, the truth, is delayed and left untold until the last minute. According to Todorov, this delay is associated with the increase of suspense and the author’s preservation and violation of rules of the genre and verisimilitude she creates.²⁰⁶ Mali, who is in fact innocent, is taken for an obvious suspect. This fact indicates that a detective’s process of investigation based on compiled clues is at odds with verisimilitude in that the detective reconstructs

²⁰⁴Todorov, *The Poetics of Prose*, 60.

²⁰⁵Ding, “Hunxue nülang,” 19.

²⁰⁶Todorov, *The Poetics of Prose*, 84-85. Todorov explains verisimilitude as follows: “we speak of a work’s verisimilitude insofar as the work tries to convince us it conforms to reality and not to its own laws. In other words, verisimilitude is the mask which is assumed by the laws of the text and which we are meant to take for a relationship with reality.” (83) There are “two essential levels of verisimilitude: verisimilitude as discursive law-absolute and inevitable, and verisimilitude as mask, as a system of rhetorical methods tending to present these laws as so many submissions to the referent.” (84) In the story, verisimilitude has two different layers: one is the reality presented by the narrator as a whole; and the other is a mask in which Mali plays dual roles, suspect and innocent. Thus, suspense is created and amplified by the tension between these two layers of verisimilitude.

evidence according to logic but not verisimilitude. Thus, the story develops according to the interlocking tension between the revelation, the truth, and verisimilitude, and they are incompatible with each other.²⁰⁷ In the story, detectives are absent, so Mali's dual role as a suspect and detective further increases the gulf between the truth and verisimilitude, thereby maintaining and amplifying the suspense to the end.²⁰⁸ This story follows the conventions and rules of the genre, yet marks a significant breakthrough in the presentation of how the system of signs works in racial formation and in the creation of a hermeneutic space for readers.

In keeping with this particular narrative mode, two amateur female characters play the detective role. The absence of the police means the reduction of the distance between readers and the text; they can actively engage in investigating the mystery as a detective does. The fact that the police, who can be seen as a type of public detective, never appear in the text, also corresponds with a rule, "the detective on vacation,"²⁰⁹ as one of conventions of the genre. "As a rule, the conventions of detective fiction are lacking in social or cultural relevance because of the disinclination of the convention to "go anywhere" in the real world. . . . [T]he detective on vacation is consistently strong hermeneutically but completely lacking in social values."²¹⁰ However, unlike the conventionality in the Euro-American contexts as theorized by Dove, this story complies with the rule of repetition through the recurrence of the phrases centering on the heart of the mystery; at the same time, it transforms the convention of the genre, and females assume the role of the detective, which is coded with social, cultural, and racial values.

²⁰⁷Todorov, *The Poetics of Prose*, 85.

²⁰⁸*Ibid.*, 86.

²⁰⁹*Ibid.*, 91.

²¹⁰*Ibid.*, 91.

Racial Hybridity between a Mixed-Blood or a Foreigner and People of Manchukuo (*Manzhouren*),²¹¹ and Chinese Nationalism

Shulan's view of Mali as a suspect is derived from her personal relationship with Mali and her racial origin.

Mali is the daughter of Yiye's aunt; in fact, she is a mixed blood. Yiye's aunt married a Russian and gave birth to Mali. Afterwards, both Mali's parents died of illness when Mali and Yiye were children. The orphan, Mali was then reared in Yiye's home. At this point, Shulan got married and came to Yiye's home. As a result, Shulan regarded Mali as her own little aunt, but usually they were not friendly. On top of this, a very strange problem occurred.²¹²

This passage informs the readers of Mali's birth and family history and implies that the conflict between Shulan and Mali is already inscribed and dates far back to the past. In terms of narrative technique, the employment of *analepsis* increases the enigma of Mali's identity and her mysterious relationship with Yiye's family. The introduction to the story not only defines her racial status as a mixed-blood (*hunxue'r*) at the outset, but it also immediately mentions Mali's familial status and her racial origin. Not only does the reiteration of her racial background mark the characteristic of the genre, it also highlights the story's thematic concerns. The use of *analepsis* as a temporal narrative device provides readers with a hint that the mystery of this event is traceable to the past; thus, the story has embedded in itself a strong connection between the racial origin and the crime, and the narrative device implies a continuity between the two.

Because of Mali's status as racially mixed, she must be differentiated from "us," the people of Manchukuo, by the Chinese majority. The story defines racial hybridity as being a foreigner as well as a mixed-blood woman (*hunxue nūlang*). By

²¹¹*Manzhouren* refers to Han Chinese as a dominant racial group in Manchukuo. Kawamura Minato, *Bungaku kara miru Manshū gozokukyōwa no yume to genjitsu* (Dream and reality of "Harmony of Five Races" of Manchuria from literature) (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1998), 8. Given the development of the story, this interpretation makes sense in that Shulan differentiates Mali from *Manzhouren*, refuting the idea of Manchukuo's multi-racial composition.

²¹²Ding, "Hunxue nūlang," 16.

classifying Mali under the category of foreigner, the story's schema polarizes the people of Manchukuo and non-Manchukuo people, i.e., foreigners. The categorization of mixed-bloods as foreigners shows the instability of their racial, social, and national identities, which are constantly defined by the Chinese for their own purposes, not by themselves in society, although the law of Manchukuo with regard to nationality does not specifically define hybrids as a distinctive racial group, as shown in the laws of nationality.²¹³ By calling Mali a mixed-blood, purity or impurity of blood is the first and foremost criterion for classifying racial and national identity in the story. Although hybrids' "impurity" of blood is not expressed physically in describing Mali's complexion, the assumption about the existence of a pure blood becomes a social and logical rationale essential to differentiate hybrids from the Chinese, as reflected in Shi Jun's short story, "Kaosuofu's Hair," as well. In the depictions of Mali, her appearance is less significant than ideological and political proclivity and positions as well as cultural affiliations such as language and behavioral codes in narrative, in contrast to the pictorial representation of her face shown in the illustration, as in Figure 4.²¹⁴ Thus, in the text, physical features do not function as racial markers; instead, Mali's manner of speech and way of thinking are another set of indicators of racial differentiation and exclusion of Mali from our Chinese. Shulan characterizes Mali's hybridity as follows:

²¹³Guowuyuan fazhiju, *Manzhouguo faling jilan* (Series of laws and regulations of Manchukuo) (Xinjing [Changchun]: Manzhou xingzheng xuehui, 1937), 829-1013. This point is fully addressed in chapter one of the dissertation.

²¹⁴Instead of portraying Mali's appearance verbally in the text, she is illustrated on page 16, Figure 5 and Shulan and Baoerdun on page 18, Figure 5. Mali has curly hair, a big, high nose and thick, long lashes, which look like false eyelashes. Only her facial image is presented, while Shulan's face and almost full body dressed in *qipao* are shown. In a way, these images parallel the verbal representations of their racial identities. Shulan has a straight hair and her *qipao* can be taken as an indicator of her Chinese national identity. However, only Mali's face is shown: as a foreigner, she does not belong to Chinese society. Thus, these illustrations reveal an underlying racial perception of Chinese primacy by way of presenting the characters' images visually with clothing attached to racial and national values.

However, you must not forget that she is a mixed-blood; her way of speaking, behavior, and ideology are all different from those of *our people of Manchukuo* [italics added]

[I, Shulan, will] go and find Mali, [you] will not stop me from going. The other party is a foreigner [Mali]; I do not fear, either (18).

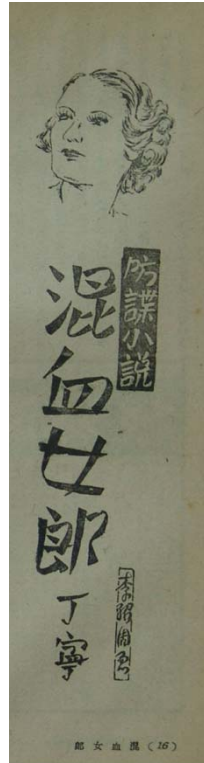


Figure 4. An illustration representing the face of Mali as a foreigner.

Xin manzhou (New Manchuria), 6.4 (April 1944): 16.

With the creation of a unifying, homogenous “we,” the Chinese reclassify racial hybrids as foreigners, so that they demarcate and consolidate the boundary between Chinese and foreigners (mixed-bloods). Shulan’s remark that she is not afraid of dealing with foreigners shows her Chinese nationality is in fact a social construct based on her presumptive racial homogeneity and superiority through the classification of racial hybrids as foreigners, as her Chinese identity is represented by a *qipao* in Figure 5. Therefore, the existence of a “foreigner” as a Chinese counterpart is a vital prerequisite for forging Chineseness while the Chinese fabricate the trope and

the notion of non-Chineseness or being foreign. In order to create the homogeneity of Chineseness, the Chinese must also reduce foreigners' heterogeneous qualities, so that they may direct the prime target of Chinese nationalism toward all peoples other than the Chinese. Racism in this case does not operate specifically in response to the opposite race, but is generalized as foreigners as a whole. Racism and nationalism work synchronically here and help readers rethink the relationship between the two. In his article "The Construction of Peoplehood: Racism, Nationalism, Ethnicity," Immanuel Wallerstein explains the interrelationship between racial and national categorization as follows:

[R]acial categorization arose primarily as a mode of expressing and sustaining the core-periphery antinomy, national categorization arose originally as a mode of expressing the competition between states in the slow but regular permutation of the hierarchal order and therefore of the detailed degree of advantage in the system as opposed to the cruder racial classification. In an over-simplified formula, we could say that race and racism unifies intrazonally the core zones and the peripheral zones in their battles with each other, whereas nation and nationalism divides core zones and peripheral zones intrazonally in the more complex intrazonal as well as interzonal competition for detailed rank order. Both categories are claims to the right to possess advantage in the capitalist world-economy.²¹⁵

The story divides the races into racial hybrids, foreigners, and the Chinese. However, it is questionable whether the notion of "the core-periphery antinomy" is still relevant to understanding the relationship between races and nations in the context of Manchukuo. As shown above, peoples in the periphery, not the core, create the idea of race. In this respect, what is at issue is not the division of the core-periphery but how it works internally within the periphery, particularly in the case of Manchukuo. The periphery can sustain itself by hierarchically mapping out racial order and thus it can become the core within the territory of the periphery. The peoples of the periphery

²¹⁵Immanuel Wallerstein, "The Construction of Peoplehood: Racism, Nationalism, Ethnicity," in *Race, Nation, Class: Ambiguous Identities*, Etienne Balibar and Immanuel Wallerstein (London, New York: Verso, 1991), 82.

conceive of and use racial ideology as a source and means to constitute Chinese nationalism; racial ideology and nationalism are not mutually exclusive, and the latter is founded and further bolstered by the former.



Figure 5. An illustration representing Shulan and Baoerdun.

Shulan, wearing a *qipao*, is shown in a full-body portrait, representing her racial and national identity. *Xin manzhou* (New Manchuria), 6.4 (April 1944): 21.

Moreover, the establishment of being Chinese rules out any possibility that an individual's racial and social identity can be fluid or can be both Chinese and Russian or many at a time. The negation of fluidity and multiplicity in the process of identity formation inevitably entails a concomitant corollary that an individual's identity must be identified according to one side's racial and national origin only. When Shulan considers Mali to be a plausible suspect, dangerous to her daughter and a detriment to Chinese society, she also questions her morality. Objecting to Shulan's hostility toward Mali, Yiye somehow tries to defend Mali and carefully takes the incident into

account. However, his remark about Mali and her father indicates that a possible strong connection between her father's racial and national origin and her current, mysterious disappearance are the underlying cause of the event speculated upon by Shulan. Yiye continues this point:

To be sure, Mali is a very bad woman, but I have always wondered whether or not she could do something like that [kidnapping]. This still matters. Her father is Russian. Although that Russian man died, it is uncertain that Baoerdun and her father had any relationship. If we guess the cause of her leaving home merely because of this relationship and say so, we also have to do it cautiously. (17-18)

Mali is prone to be involved in crime because of her innate nature, which derives from her Russian father's racial and national origins and not from her native Chinese mother. The negativity of foreign, racial origin is best expressed in Mali's implication in the crime. In addition, the degree of the atrocity of the crime done by foreign spies is compared to Chinese behavioral norms, and thus the ideology of being foreign and Chinese is set up repeatedly.

As for the Chinese (*Manzhouren*), [they] would not dare to do this level of crime. It is precisely because they are foreigners that they put this sort of a cunning scheme into action boldly without any hesitation. (22)

By sharply contrasting the goodness of the Chinese with the brutality of foreigners, the story constructs and conveys the virtue of the Chinese and their national quality.

Rather than recognizing the two sides of Mali's identity, Shulan primarily identifies her as a foreigner, although there is a moment when Yiye is cautious of judging the event on the basis of Mali's racial origin. Then how is Mali recognized and accepted by her family members? Like other literary representations of racial hybrids, this story also shows that they can be included and integrated into Chinese society conditionally and partially, depending largely on what roles they play for China. When Shulan comes to Baoerdun's place and sees Mali, he forces Mali to

disguise herself as his wife because of her physical appearance. In the mean time, Mali tries to let Shulan return home, though she intends to contact the police. Thus, an armed clash arises between Mali and Baoerdun. At this moment, Mali thinks of committing suicide due to his ferocious violence. (21) Mali's resolution to kill herself is a narrative device to vindicate her innocence, but at the same time, it also attests to her allegiance to Yiye's family and the country. In contrast to Shulan's suspecting looks and her constant attempts to position Mali as a foreigner, Mali is willing to sacrifice her life to save her niece and even her aunt. However, when Shulan is in dangerous confrontation with Baoerdun, her baby is the only object of her concern, revealing her deep love for her daughter, but not Mali. (20) Although she is puzzled by Mali's disguised identity for a while, she certainly recognizes her true identity. Despite the fact that Shulan does not manifest concern for Mali, Mali never questions Shulan's negative attitude toward her and treats her faithfully as her aunt. In the narrative, the third-person narrator, who is presumably Chinese, recounts the story from Shulan's point of view, so readers cannot hear about Mali's perception of Shulan. By maintaining different distances from different characters, the narration predicates the inconsistency of the narrative objects; Shulan knows more about Mali than the narrator does, whereas Mali knows little about Shulan. This asymmetry in the narrative structure reveals Mali's powerless status in which only Shulan, who represents Chinese nationality, can define her identity; she herself cannot.

In the end, it seems unclear, however, that Mali becomes qualified to claim her non-foreign, Chinese identity. Unlike "Kaosuofu's Hair," in which the Chinese narrator defines Kaosuofu's final identity as a mixed-blood, "A Mixed-Blood Woman" never describes the preservation of her previous racial identity defined by Shulan or its transformation after her valiant actions to prove the Chinese side of her identity. This ambiguous ending demonstrates that Chinese nationality is deemed to be

natural and given and its positive and infallible aspects constantly narrated and highlighted, whereas being foreign and its negative and inferior aspects are still malleable and completely subject to the Chinese defining, characterizing, and classifying it. From the outset, Mali's identity is not defined by herself but by Shulan. In this regard, Mali's identity can gain meaning only in relation to the Chinese's formation of other races and nationalities. Leaving aside the issue as to how "foreigners," i.e., racial hybrids, are able to claim the Chinese side of their racial heritage and thus be included in Chinese society, the final resolution of the conflict maintains the existing racial order, revealing the vulnerable status of racial hybrids.

At the same time, however, the female characters' detective roles problematize women's gender norms and simultaneously implicate their disempowerment and empowerment in terms of gender politics and race. In feminist detective stories in the Euro-American context, the crime and cases investigated by the female detective are related to the development of the existing gender order and social oppression inflicted upon women. Usually a female detective "becomes a target of the killer; she becomes the victim whose murder she is trying to redress."²¹⁶ Thus, she has a tendency to live and work alone independently in the male-centered social structure.²¹⁷ Shulan and Mali's detective roles can also be read in this way. It is evident that Baoerdun, a male, western, foreign spy can be seen as a victimizer, who oppresses a woman and a child in a colonial setting in which the West and the East are in confrontation. Moreover, as far as race and class are concerned, Euro-American detective fiction also shows a similar trend and has specific effects on the populaces. Drawing from Gramsci and Althusser, Charles Rzepka argues that "hegemonic control of the populace is maintained through interpellation. As a part of modern mass entertainment, detective

²¹⁶Sandra Tomc, "Questioning Women: The Feminist Mystery after Feminism," in *Feminism in Women's Detective Fiction*, ed. Glenwood Irons (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), 47.

²¹⁷*Ibid.*, 47-52.

fiction helps interpellate its readers into conformity with the hegemony of white, male, middle-class values in Western capitalist-industrial societies.”²¹⁸ The Anglo-Saxon detective novel, particularly Agatha Christie’s work, tends to criminalize the lower-classes. This does not mean that the crime struggle originates within the lower classes but that the criminals are presented as social misfits and have to be punished for violating the ideals of the upper, ruling classes.²¹⁹

From the perspective of hegemony, Shulan as the subject establishes and disseminates the category of being Chinese and its ideology so as to maintain and reinforce the order of race and nationality. In this regard, Mali’s dual role as the victim and detective at the same time does not signify female empowerment so much as women’s disempowerment in that Mali is subordinate to Shulan according to the racial order Shulan sets. That is, a woman who is racially “hybrid” is inferior to the other woman who is racially “pure” in order to shape and affirm the Chinese’s racial centrality over foreign races. Thus, categorizing and classifying racial hybrids as foreigners is part of forging the Chinese dominant racial order and racial privileges, a process which almost requires the visual representations of the illustrations which show Mali’s face but do not represent her national identity through her clothes. The verbal and visual representations of racial hierarchy and its meaning work together in the popular imagination and cultural production and consumption. They come to play a crucial role in forging and disseminating a racial ideology based on the logic of purity/impurity of blood and the Chinese’s racial and cultural supremacy over other foreign races. The foreignness constructed is deployed to highlight China’s moral preeminence and is consumed and accumulated for symbolic and material purposes in the exchange of cultural commodities. Thus, literary and cultural productions mobilize

²¹⁸Rzepka, *Detective Fiction*, 21.

²¹⁹Ernest Mandel, “A Marxist Interpretation of the Crime Story” in *Detective Fiction: A Collection of Critical Essays*, ed. Robin W. Winks (Vermont: A Foul Play Press Book, 1988), 214.

images of racial hybrids and their inseparable link to foreignness for the state security apparatus and material and economic profit.

A ‘White Race’ without Supremacy, Whiteness, and the Power of the Han Race in Shi Jun’s “Hunxue’ r”

“Hunxue’r” (Mixed-blood children) written by Shi Jun (1912- 1949) was published in *Qingnian wenhua* (Culture of the Youth) in 1943, an offshoot of *Xin qingnian* (The New Youth).²²⁰ The latter was originally a bulletin of the Manchurian Concordia Association (Manshūkoku kyōwakai) of the Fengtian Province, which published a great many literary works before it was suspended. Afterwards, the Department of Culture in the Central Residency-General of the Youth Groups of the Manchurian Imperial Concordia Association (Manzhou diguo xiehehui qingshaonian tuan zhongyang tongjianbu wenhuabu) issued *Qingshaonian zhi dao zhe* (The Young Leaders), but it was also discontinued in July of 1942. When this organization was reformed, the Association of Manchurian Youth Culture (Manzhou qingshaonian wenhuashe) was founded and *Qingnian wenhua* was first published.²²¹ Thus, this journal can be viewed as a quasi-governmental magazine supporting and disseminating its policies and ideology. In 1943, Shi Jun received the first Literary Award of Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity for his novel *Wotu* (A fertile land), together with Jue Qing’s *Huangjin de zhaimen* (A strait gate of gold).²²² In the same

²²⁰ Shi Jun, “Hunxue’ r” (Mixed-blood children), *Qingnian wenhua* (Culture of the youth) 1.1 (August 1943): 107-115. I have purposely selected the word “mixed-blood” to emphasize the meaning of the original Chinese word. Shi Jun’s original name is Wang Shijun and he was from Jinzhou, Liaoning Province. As he wrote in his essay “I and my fiction,” he graduated from Lüshun Normal School in 1932, taught school, and then served as a government official in Suobin county after the Marco Polo Bridge Incident. Qian Liqun, ed., *Zhongguo Lunxianqu wenxue daxi, shiliaojuan* (Series of Chinese literature during the Japanese occupation, historical materials) (Nanning: Guangxi jiaoyu chubanshe, 2000), 313-314.

²²¹ Liu Xiaoli, “Weiman shiqi wenxue zazhi xinkao” (A new study of literary journals during the Manchukuo period), *Zhongguo xiandai dangdai wenxue yanjiu* (Research on Modern and Contemporary Chinese Literature, translation in the original text), 2 (2006): 148.

²²² Okada, *Weimamanzhouguo wenxue*, 202. According to Shi Jun, this novel was written in a “desolate and extremely cold county” located on the border of Manchukuo and the U.S.S.R. . “Hunxue’ r” was

year, he also participated in the Manchurian Association of Artists and Writers (Manzhou wenyijia xiehui) as one of the staff in the Correspondence Department of East Asian Co-Prosperity.²²³

The Manchurian Association of Artists and Writers dates back to the Branch of the Manchurian Association of Culture (Manzhou wenhua hui zhibu), established in Xinjing (Changchun) in August of 1937, which was a rival of an association by the same name, formed in Dalian in June of 1937. The Japanese who were involved in literature, art, film, music, drama, etc. formed the Dalian group and primarily led it. Its central purpose lay in cultivating friendship, while protecting its members' professional rights and interests; its literary tenet was "Dalian consciousness" (*dalian yishi*), which primarily advocated liberalism and art for art's sake. By contrast, the "Shinjing consciousness" (*shinjing yishi*) featured more politically oriented tenets of creative writing and literary production and was renowned for its active promotion of governmental policies; among them, the "*minzu xiehe*" (harmony of nation/race) was identified with the national policy. In the end, "Dalian consciousness" gave way to "Shinjing consciousness" due to the reform of government organizations and the state gearing up for the total war.²²⁴

also written during this time. I will discuss this point further in the body of this chapter. Shi Jun, "Wo yu xiaoshuo" (I and my fiction), *Yiwenzhi* (Record of literature and art) 1.1 (November 1943): 74.

²²³Okada, *Weimamanzhouguo wenxue*, 43.

²²⁴From the end of 1940 to 1941, the body of administrative organizations in Manchukuo was reformed extensively. The Manchurian Public Relations Association (Manzhou hongbao xiehui) was dissolved and a new P.R. department was established with an expanded structure and great power. As of January 1, 1941, the new department undertook the following affairs. "(1) an investigation of film, newspapers, and publications that were previously overseen by the Department of Public Security; (2) broadcasting and news correspondence that was governed the Department of Transportation; (3) propaganda that was previously produced by the Bureau." 28-29. Newspaper companies were merged and systemically organized. "On August 25 of 1941, Three PR laws (news agency law, newspaper company law, and journalist law of Manchukuo) were announced; by reversing its field, news companies were under the state's management and a journalist's registration system was enforced, signifying the completion of the state's control over information and communication." Okada, *Weimamanzhouguo wenxue*, 29-30. As shown above, the state became deeply involved in controlling culture and communication as total war approached.

The Public Relation Agency presented the “Yiwen zhidao yaogang” (Guidelines on art and literature) at a gathering to discuss the policies of art and literature on March 23, 1941; the agency played a crucial role in placing literature and art under the government’s direct control. Mutō Tomio, head of the P. R. A., explained the “Guidelines” and showed the extent to which the state emphasized the role of culture and its importance. He first pointed out that “the establishment of Manchukuo *per se* means culture.”²²⁵ In order to avoid confusion regarding the concepts of art, culture, and literature, the term, art and literature (*yiwen*), came to cover and represent all three. In this formulation, the Guidelines affirmed not only the backwardness of Manchurian art and literature but proclaimed the superiority of Japanese literature and its leading role in developing Manchurian literature. However, he maintained that the expansion of the power of the Public Relations Bureau did not mean that art and literature should become an instrument for propaganda, but rather that artists and authors’ passions were projected into their work. His remarks at the gathering laid the foundation for guidelines of the Manchurian Association of Literature and Art (Manzhou wenyijia xiehui), in which Shi Jun also had participated since 1943.²²⁶ He attended the Third Assembly of Literary Writers of Greater East Asian Literature held in Tokyo in 1944.²²⁷ Along with these literary activities, Shi Jun’s receipt of the Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Literature Award explicitly demonstrates that he wrote his fiction more or less in concert with the state agenda in favor of its ruling ideology. Given the time of this work’s publication, the state attempted to mobilize its people to carry out total war toward its end using a cultural means, for instance, the production of fiction to prevent espionage. In this regard, this story was written in support of the state’s racial policy, “the harmony of five races.” The promotion of the

²²⁵Ibid., 32.

²²⁶Ibid., 45.

²²⁷Ibid., 193-196.

unity of peoples as a cultural medium to forge social and national congruity became all the more imperative at a critical juncture of the war.

This social and historical background provides a perspective from which to read “Mixed-blood Children.” The story is emblematic of the wide discrepancy between Manchukuo’s intended cultural and racial ideology and ideals and what writers, with their own agendas, actually expressed in literary works, which also generated their unpremeditated effects on readership in interpreting literary works. Shi Jun himself stated his thoughts on literature and discussed the development of his creative writing career and his social responsibility as a writer over time in his essay titled “Wo yu xiaoshuo” (I and my fiction). The introduction of his biographical information and life experiences helps readers understand how he created stories in his relentless search for new literary subjects and literary completeness, though his endeavor to seek artistic perfection seems to be partially tainted by his overriding concern for the construction of Chinese nationality.

Shi Jun’s Literary Path and the Creation of the Work

Shi Jun became interested in literature when he studied at Lüshun Normal School (Lüshun shifan xuetang) and he wrote proletarian literature under the influence of the literary reform following the May Fourth Movement which swept over Northeast literary circles. He participated in a literary circle called *Xiangtao she* (The Association of Roaring Waves) and he published literary works in newspapers during the time after graduation when he taught school. He recalled that he lived in an ivory tower; he called this stage, from 1919 to 1937, a “practice period.”²²⁸ He finished a five-year teaching position at a school and then wandered for a year, which provided him with a valuable opportunity to “observe the world calmly.”²²⁹ Afterwards,

²²⁸Shi, “Hunxue’r,” 66.

²²⁹Ibid., 70.

working as a government official in a small county,²³⁰ he committed himself to live faithfully and was aflame with a sense of justice, arising from a feeling between love and hatred toward humanity. He “revealed the dark aspects of things and phenomena step by step and felt compassion for some people whom he considered to be pitiful.”²³¹ He called this period his “creation stage,” since his works displayed originality in terms of subject matter and command of vocabulary. He also searched for new and peculiar subjects, selecting and treating them for his creative writing.²³² He wrote “Hunxue’r” after he was transferred to a small county near the border between Manchukuo and the U.S.S.R., whose climate was “desolate and extremely cold” (*huangliang qihan*),²³³ as narrated in the story as well. He stated that “my consciousness of writing was less influenced by this regional setting. However, the so-called folk literature and art attracted me more deeply.”²³⁴

It is quite noticeable that the story was based in part on his own experiences in this county, because in the opening remark of the story, the narrator describes the climate features of the region with a very similar expression. I, describes Bin town (Bincheng) as being “desolate and bitterly cold (*huangliang kuhan*).” (107) Also, from the beginning of the story, the narrator directly presents his sympathetic attitude toward the narrative object, that is, the Mengdisuofu family consisting of a Chinese father, who actually dies in the narrative, a Russian mother, and their offspring. The narrator’s occupation as a government official in the story is the same as that of the author’s. Given this perceptible consistency and the similarities between his professional career and creative writing, this work reflects and crystallizes Shi Jun’s

²³⁰This biographical information is the same as that in Qian Liqun’s *Zhongguo Lunxianqu wenxue daxi, shiliaojuan* (Series of Chinese literature during the Japanese occupation, historical materials) (Nanning: Guangxi jiaoyu chubanshe, 2000), 313-314.

²³¹Ibid.

²³²Shi, “Hunxue’r,” 70-73.

²³³Ibid., 74.

²³⁴Shi, Ibid.

changing ideas of writing and world views on the one hand, while on the other hand, also leaving room for readers to interpret the text and fill in new meanings, going beyond the author's intention.

Synopsis

The story revolves around a Chinese government official, Wangshu (Uncle Wang), who has accidental encounters with an impoverished biracial family and later remembers them. Wang, the narrator, is demoted and transferred to the small, isolated town of Bin located in the border area which is conterminous with China and Russia and first meets two daughters of this family by chance near his place. The girls furnish milk to the Japanese, Chinese, and Korean²³⁵ government officials who rank lower than Wang and the county magistrate. One day, their Russian mother, Lulina, brings milk on behalf of her sick daughter and tells Wang about her family background as well as a raft of her personal hardships and worries. She fled the Russian Revolution of 1917 in Siberia, her native place, where her father served as a high-ranking soldier, and she regrets her dramatic downward change in social status and turning herself into a stateless being. By mentioning her marginalized status in which she has no place to turn to, she appeals to Wang to find a job for one of her sons who cannot continue his studies, resulting from the economical condition of the poverty-stricken family. Owing to the Chinese protagonist's recommendation, Menghuojunfu, her son, called *Er Maozi*²³⁶ by Wang, is appointed as an assistant to an automobile driver for officials in a government office. After Wang learns that they all live in extreme penury, he helps them by distributing rationed items such as bread and sugar to them first. Eventually, Wang pawns his wife's bracelet and gives them a small amount of money to support

²³⁵The enumeration of racial origins in this passage in a way indicates that this story is written to show the racial harmony of the "five races," although it particularly describes Russo-Chinese relations.

²³⁶It literally denotes the "second generation hairy person" and refers to the second generation of racial hybrids between Russians and the Chinese. I will elaborate more on this later.

Mengdisuofu's tuition to a driving school to show his sympathy and support to the family.

A 'White Race' without Supremacy and the Power of the Han Race: Absent Chinese Father as Origin of Superior Race to be Retained vs Present Russian Mother as Origin of Inferior Race to be Removed

Above all, this story depicts a powerless Chinese father, one of the most common tropes of racial hybridity in the Chinese literature of Manchukuo; the Chinese father, the center of the family, is completely absent, so he actually has no impact upon his family in the narrative. This biracial family's financial plight in part originates in the death of the father, serving as the principal narrative device for establishing an asymmetrical power relationship between Russians, and half-Russians and half Chinese, and the Han race. On behalf of the dead Chinese father, Wang, the Chinese official, plays the role of the father by taking care of the family using his bureaucratic power as a representative of the state. The relationship between Wang and Lulina's family inevitably mirrors the hierarchical power structure in which the life of the latter is entirely dependent upon the former. Wang's role as a government official embodies his privileged position of managing racial 'others.' Ghassan Hage argues that in the course of establishing white Australia, nationalists functioned as spatial managers of national space, and undesirable ethnic objects as "small sized object[s]" that had to be controlled by them.²³⁷ They perceived themselves as agents performing national will and attempting to build "what they imagine[d] to be a homely [in this case, homely means comfortable] nation."²³⁸ In this process, ethnic groups came to be considered as objects to eliminate to maintain the ideal size of the population, stemming from an anxiety about the increasingly visible presence of

²³⁷Hage, *White Nation*, 44.

²³⁸*Ibid.*, 47.

immigrants.²³⁹ Hage's notion of a spatial manager includes both the nation and nationals, but Wang's position in the story exemplifies how a national as a government official enacts his will with authority and legitimacy to form an idealized Chinese nation that as a host country receives immigrants and exiles. At first glance, Wang's nationalist project of supporting the biracial family appears to be an inclusive gesture rather than exclusive in the sense that he helps them economically, and does not expel them from the territory; however, their relationship is built on the racial hierarchy in which newcomers have to be managed by the Chinese nationalist who wants to position the Han race at the center of the racial structure. Empowered by his privileged position, Wang first tries to identify the other's racial origins by checking their family name.

When Wang encounters the two daughters, he first asks about their family name: "“Lady, what is your family name?””²⁴⁰ Malaman, the elder sister, is embarrassed by it and cannot answer, but Bamier, the younger sister, answers: "“We are called Guan.””²⁴¹ However, Wang further asks, saying "“[is your] family name Guan? How come you folks look like Russians?””²⁴² The elder sister first identifies her mother's nationality and then explains her father's, stating that "“there is no such family name as Guan in the Russian language.””²⁴³ This passage clearly exhibits that children of biracial families have to follow their father's racial heritage and the family name serves to ascertain their racial origin. The literary portrayal of the identification of racial origin in terms of gender precisely corresponds to the temporary stipulations of race and nationality in Manchukuo in that the male head of family holds a

²³⁹Other scholars also view the “‘population scare’ as a metonym for a range of anxieties about the degradation of racial privilege.” Virinder S. Kalra, et al., *Diaspora & Hybridity* (London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2005), 98.

²⁴⁰Shi, “Hunxue’ r,” 108.

²⁴¹The text identifies the father as Manchukuo (Manzhouguo ren), but his specific ethnicity is untold. Guan is a common name among Manchus. Ibid., 108. In this regard, the story obliquely or overtly encompasses Han centrality in arranging characters in terms of race and ethnicity.

²⁴²Ibid., 108.

²⁴³Ibid., 108.

privileged position in representing racial origin through the exclusion of females, as discussed in the previous chapter. However, none of the racial hybrids in the story have Chinese given names, but instead have Russian ones, so that the racial heritage of the mother is preserved. The form that their appellation takes does not remarkably differ from that of the unofficial social practice of race and racial categorization in that they have a Chinese family name, guaranteeing their legal status as nationals of Manchukuo, but this does not mean the Chinese, the dominant group, consider them Chinese in society. Thus, the inclusionary nature of the law and the exclusionary nature of social practice of race are vividly encapsulated in the depictions of naming racially mixed children, resulting from gendering the race.

The maintenance of the father's racial lineage through the retention of his family name shows how racial supremacy grounded in gender politics is constituted and reinforced through the institutionalized power by eliminating female family names yet including their given names, since the laws of Manchukuo enforced in reality at that time also gave the male's family name precedence over that of the female's one, as addressed in the previous chapter. The racial privilege of the Chinese and the Russians' subordination is exactly in parallel with the order of gender and gendered race. More strikingly, Lulina, the Russian mother, colonizes herself by identifying Mengdisuofu, her son, with his father, and defines the Russian race to which she belongs as an inferior race, while eulogizing and adulating the Chinese strength and good nature. When Wang asks her about her son's ability to carry out jobs in his immediate response to her request to find a job for her son, she answers:

He is able to do any work; he takes after his father, and does not take after me: I am a Russian, *an inferior race* [italics added], but my next generation will all become a *good race* [Chinese race] [italics added]. He can also endure hardships and toil. . . ." (111).

This statement encapsulates how a displaced woman in a diasporic community subjugates herself in order for her “mixed-blood” son to become a Chinese man by identifying him with his father’s racial heritage and value while repudiating her own.²⁴⁴ In tandem with the function of Russian given names as racial markers, racial status is represented as a mixture of bloods and foreignness in the literary imagination as well as in reality, Russians themselves disavow their racial heritage and what it means for their existence. They must relinquish their Russian given names, their self-identified markers of the inferiority of the Russian race, in other words, their affiliation to the ‘home’ country. Even the mother must disappear to transform her offspring into “good” Chinese under the aegis of the Chinese. What is at the forefront here is that the Manichean oppositions are employed by the non-colonizers themselves. The inferior, of its own accord and internalization of racial ideology, demarcates simplistic, stark dichotomy between the inferior and superior race to create and affirm the preeminence of the Chinese race. To be sure, this racial formation is potentially as a reproduction of the evolutionary discourse of social Darwinism in that “survival of the fittest” is the underlying logic to justify a superior race’s dominance over an inferior race.²⁴⁵

However, despite Lulina’s negation of her racial origin so that her son can be accepted as Chinese, Wang still considers him a Russian. Wang even imagines he

²⁴⁴ Joseph Conrad’s novel, *Heart of Darkness*, also depicts Russians perceived as either nonwhites or as a race which is not advanced as other European whites. The author presents the character Harlequin to critique European imperialism and white dominance. African and Russian heritage have many similarities and the protagonist identifies with them rather than a European one. “Both [Africa and Russia] were incomprehensible, both were prehistoric, both lacked language.” (194) “[I]n order to offer a critique of European imperialism from within the European context, he [the author] was forced to give the Harlequin a Russian identity.” 195. For more detailed analysis, see Frances B. Singh ““Motley’s the Only Wear:” Hybridity, Homelands, and Conrad’s Harlequin” in *Postcolonial Whiteness: A Critical Reader on Race and Empire*, ed. Alfred J López (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2005), 183-198.

²⁴⁵ According to Nikos Papastergiadis, “Although the Darwinian paradigm was premised on the notion that survival was linked to mutation, the hybrid was constructed negatively because it was presumed to be less able to adapt, and was therefore a risk to the whole process of human adaptation.” For a more detailed discussion regarding Darwinism and eugenics, see Papastergiadis, *The Turbulence of Migration*, 170-174.

knows what Mengdisuofu thinks of his own identity at the moment when Wang identifies him as a Russian: “[My] intuition tells me that Mengdisuofu is the alter-ego of Lulina’s flesh and spirit. Lulina’s mind is carried in Mengdisuofu’s body and mind. When Lulina is pregnant, she tries to nurture her unborn baby in a positive environment; and she has already completely transmitted her pent-up, unrealized indignation and her resentment resulting from the murder of her father into this wise and passionate young man.” (113) This passage reveals precisely how the dominant social group defines racial hybrids, regardless of their self-positioning, since Mengdisuofu does not quite seek to claim either side of his parental heritage in the story.

It is not the son, but Lulina who articulates and clarifies the meaning of a good race, namely, the Han race; this is her primary reason for marrying a Chinese man.

The people of Manchukuo [Han Chinese in this context] are a lot better than the Russian people; they can endure hardships and undertake hard labor, they are smart and clever, they are not rigid; they are willing to work hard and make plans ambitiously unlike Russians who get drunk right away if alcohol is available. In whatever the Chinese do, [they] have faith and think of their descendants and other people. Your nationality (*minzu xing*) is really powerful and great. (110-111)

As opposed to Russian men’s craftiness, Lulina’s husband has good qualities as a Chinese. She recalls:

He [her husband] is faithful, honest, and frank, unlike Russian men, who are seductive and sly and live like lotus eaters; they live like drunkards and die like dreamers. (111)

Wang wants to check further whether or not Russian women married to Chinese men in the lower reaches of the Yangtze River during 1919 had the same view as Lulina, and she answers that they do so as well. Her remark enables him to feel proud of the strength of the Han race to the point that his “blood is all about to

seethe.” (111) He thanks his ancestors who made this long lasting, glorious history, swearing that “we will inherit a good fighting spirit handed down by you, and take it as part of history and pass it down to our next generation.” (111) This masculinization of Chinese history and the affirmation of male centrality in constructing a grand narrative clearly resonate with the depictions of the hegemonic and magnificent modes of Chinese history represented and recounted by the Chinese narrator in “Kaosuofu’s Hair.”

Judging from the development of the storyline, Lulina’s acclamation of the Chinese nationality is carefully chosen to indicate and undergird her economic dependence on Wang; she attempts to approach the Chinese superior in order to ask him to find a job for her son. Hence, from the Chinese standpoint, the existence of the powerless foreign other is an indispensable, de facto prerequisite to shaping the ideal China for the continuity of the grand Chinese history, since the positive, superlative quality of Chinese nationality cannot be defined without the other’s negative, unworthy characteristics. On the one hand, Lulina’s role in identifying the negative, flawing traits of her own cultural and national sources implies the foreign other’s passive submission to the supremacy of the Chinese race and her internalization of racial thinking and values. However, on the other hand, by virtue of the very existence of the inferior Other, the Chinese national subject is able to articulate and further fortifies his desire to establish a powerful nation through the recitation of magnificent Chinese history. More significantly, Wang’s valorization of Lulina’s assessment of unsurpassed national power of China and Chinese nationality elucidates the ways in which a nationalist produces an existential meaning in association with his fantasy of the self as well as the nation.

Drawing from Lacanian psychoanalysis, Hage accounts for the role of fantasy and its significance in constituting national subjects and homelike nations. In Hage’s

view, fantasy has two important functions for the formation of the subjectivity of the self as well as its relation to the other. First, a nationalist's yearning, signifying a nationalistic practice for building an ideal, homelike nation, is more concerned with "the fantasy of the self as a fulfilled nationalist"²⁴⁶ rather than with that of the state, since he/she can exist on the basis of this yearning, which is his/her *raison d'être*. The self is created by the fantasy itself, since it involves "an ideal image of the self as a 'meaningful' subject."²⁴⁷ It gives the self a meaning for pursuing and leading a worthy life according to the fantasy the nationalist creates, which is also part of the fantasy. Second, otherness is necessary to remind the self of the (im)possibility of actualizing the fantasy. Thus, it is constantly fabricated and sustained. In this way, the nationalist's fantasy operates within this self-sufficient mechanism in which the meaning of the life of the self is contingent upon personal positionality in relation to an ideal image of the nation the individual wants to establish.²⁴⁸ Wang's fantasy of the nation also springs from his desire to build a powerful nation as well as to continue the monumental history of the Chinese. His desire for a state to take up Chinese grand narrative is in marked contrast with Lulina's "drifting history filled with bitter tears." (111) In addition, the purpose of living and the meaning of his life as a Chinese national subject are determined by his self-projection onto the ideal image of the self in the national space, which is the underlying and paramount rationale that gives his life significance. Driven by this fantasy, he treats Lulina's family with charity, since they are the very object that affirms his realization of his fantasy of himself in the national space as well as that of the nation itself he wants to build. In other words, the positivity of the self is not constructed without the negativity of the other; the self's

²⁴⁶Hage, *White Nation*, 70.

²⁴⁷*Ibid.*, 70

²⁴⁸*Ibid.*, 70-75.

possibility of building a desirable nation can only be derived from the other's lack that can only be filled by the fantasy of the self.

In short, Wang's racially higher position entitles him to manage the other by way of fulfilling the fantasy that originates within himself, thereby constructing the preeminence of Chinese nationality. The function of the fantasy is augmented along with the idea that the self or the other represents the whole nation, an idea that is also imbedded in Lulina's perception of herself as an exile and her relation to other Russians. She thinks that "rescuing my family and rescuing all the countless, White Russian people (*minzu*) who become émigrés is the same." (114) This logic stems in part from the Confucian notion of the relationship between home and nation in that Wang and Lulina both admit the fact that "a *minzu* without home and nation is most pitiful and pathetic." (110) Lulina's position in Manchukuo is complicated by her marginalized status as a foreign widow. In order for her offspring to live and be accepted as Chinese, she has to refute her racial and national heritage; and at the same time she has to affirm it with a recourse to a Confucian rhetoric aimed at giving a more complete meaning to the Chinese nationalist's activity in an attempt to realize his vision of the ideal nation, arising from his own fantasy. The use of Confucian rhetoric to stress the significance of charity is metonymic in that part of the émigré population stands for the whole race. Thus, the self's personal eleemosynary activity is extended to the racial and national dimension and equated with the salvation of the entire Russian race. In this respect, an émigré's simultaneous self-negation and affirmation of her racial origin in a diasporic community serves to construct Chinese nationality and promote the fortification of Chinese national hegemony over exiles.

Chinese Construction of Whiteness

The Chinese perceived Russians as a white race, unlike the term ‘White Russians’ which derives from their political status during the Russian revolution of 1917. When Wang visits Lulina’s place, he looks curiously around her place and discovers the following facts:

There are several worn wooden mattresses placed vertically in the bedroom without the Chinese heated brick platform. The colored Madonna for consecration on the desk, a big cross right in front of it, and a bronze incense burner are placed in a row; except for these *inherited customs of the white race* [italics added], other structures of arranging things are the exactly same as the Han race.” They also put up new year couplets, worship the god of a brick kitchen stove, and hang the tail of a dragon; they install a brick kitchen stove, a rice chest, and a box in the living room, and smoke dried tobacco,

I feel as if I have gained something, a feeling that I have found something worthy of finding, and Lulina’s family members could never correctly guess how I feel. *That is the Han race’s assimilative power toward other different races, you see this great capacity, a solid flowing* [italics added].

This power can make you feel a soft and warm season like a greenhouse; they discarded a foreign race’s native tradition and customs and were *assimilated by the beautiful environment of the Han race safely and happily. Is it not worthy to praise Han people’s brave and tenacious assimilative power fully?* [italics added]²⁴⁹

First of all, in order to differentiate Russians from the Chinese racially and culturally, the spatial arrangement of Lulina’s home has to be juxtaposed and compared with that of the Han Chinese based on commonality and similarity, springing from the commensurability of culture. The figure of speech used to describe the arrangements of the home is reiterated metonymically. Each arrangement carries racial, cultural, and national traits. Thus, the structure of a private space symbolizes the epitome of each of

²⁴⁹Shi, “Hunxue’r,” 114-115. The expression “worship the god of a brick kitchen stove” in Chinese in the text is “gongzao wangye (供灶王爷), but it appears to be a typo; a simplified Chinese version of the text published by Harbin Municipal Library also has the same phrase as the original text. Zhou Youliang, et. al, *Dongbei luxian shiqi zuopin xuan* (Selections of works during the Japanese occupation of the Northeast) (Harbin: Harbin shi tushuguan, 1987), 127. I have changed the phrase into “gongzaowangye (供灶王爷)” to make sense.

the races as comparable with each other, and it is not presented as a personal choice of taste in cultures. Noticeably, the degree of adoption of the Han Chinese style in spatial arrangement in the domestic sphere is one of the conclusive barometers for evaluating this biracial family's assimilation into Han Chinese civilization. By establishing the Han Chinese-centered criteria to assess the extent to which they are assimilated, the culture of the Han race becomes an infallible norm and ideals even for a Russian émigré family.

Subsequently, this passage shows that in the process of forging Chineseness, the Chinese notion of Whiteness is at once imagined and created. The Chinese version of the production of whiteness is closely connected to the Russians' religious practice, serving as one of key determinants for racial differentiation, in addition to their physical attributes. In the text, Lulina is presented as a "pure Russian," unlike her mixed-blood offspring with black-flecked blue eyes; in particular, her deep blue eyes are the sign of her racial purity, together with her blonde curly hair.²⁵⁰ But her mixed-blood offspring are not quite white. At the same time, their blood is regarded as beautiful and different from that of other people. In the story, when the driver cannot start the car, he asks Mengdisuofu to step down and push it; but he gets injured when he tries to insert a steel bar into a hole. At this point, Wang pays particular attention to his bleeding and comments on its characteristics. "[He] falls down and is badly injured, so blood spurts out; this red blood is more colorful and beautiful than that of ordinary people." (112) In contrast to the negative connotation of mixed blood, *hunxue*, racial hybridity's blood becomes an object to compliment, which imparts a particular quality different from those of the ordinary races to Mengdisuofu. Also, Wang is fascinated by the beauty of Lulina's daughters' "foreign" physical appearance. (108) Wang's inconsistent racial differentiation and attraction to the

²⁵⁰Shi, "Hunxue'r," 108-9. The narrator states that her hair is permed, but some whites also have naturally curly hair, so I have translated it in this way.

differentiated object can be seen as what Robert Young calls “colonial desire”; Wang’s shifting attitude toward racial hybridity attests to the fact that it is “in the ambivalent double gesture of repulsion and attraction that seems to lie at the heart of racism.”²⁵¹ Wang is also simultaneously attracted to and repelled by racial hybridity’s physical, racial, and cultural differences, which must be demarcated and sustained for preserving the purity and power of the Han race.

In addition to these physical characteristics, the purity of the Russians is determined by their religion from a non-white Chinese perspective. Wang’s definition of the white race and whiteness does not refer to a specific sect of Christianity. However, Christianity is recognized as the representative religion of the white race. In the United States, in the course of making a white nation, from the very outset, the category of white race and the meaning of whiteness were defined in a very limited way, exclusively designating English White Protestants and then expanding to include other whites such as Irish, Italians, and Jews. Along with the expansion of the category of whites, the category of religion naturally swelled, so Catholics were embraced as Christians and whiteness became an emblem of Americaness in the United States. While the details with regard to constructing white racial ideology in the United States and other parts of the world lie beyond the scope of my study, this fact reveals how the category of white race and its meaning has changed and been forged over time to make “whiteness visible” and to associate it with special racial status, alleged rights, and privileges.²⁵²

The supremacy of whiteness in the American context stands in sharp contrast to the Chinese formation of non-preeminent whiteness. Despite the racial diversity of the Russian population and the discursive social practice of culture in reality, the

²⁵¹Robert J.C. Young, *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture, and Race* (London, New York: Routledge, 1995), 115.

²⁵²For a more detailed discussion, see Valerie Babb’s study, *Whiteness Visible*, particularly chapter one Toward a Philosophy of Whiteness, 7-45, and Kalra, *Diaspora and Hybridity*, 109.

Chinese defined and reduced Russians to being a white race. The specificity of the Chinese notion of whiteness is that the physical features of the whites are visible, but this visibility functions only as a racial marker to differentiate them from the Chinese majority without granting them any predominance and prerogatives. Instead, the trope of Russian whiteness serves to testify to the Han race's assimilative power and its superiority. Seen in this light, the Chinese distinguish the Russians through physiognomy, phenotype, and religious practice, basing their construct of whiteness solely upon them; but the visibility of them does include any hegemony over the Chinese, nor it does guarantee any privilege and racial and social status.

Moreover, the ways in which the Chinese name Russians and racial hybrids using specific terms loaded with racial value and ideology further verifies how the idea of whiteness lacks any connotation of Russian supremacy. The Chinese adopted appellation and typology as a vital means with which to categorize and devalue Russians, and the Chinese construction of whiteness takes them as racial markers, deriving from the phenotype. *Maozi*, literally denoting a hairy person, is a term used to capture and describe Russians' physical features, particularly when referring to Russian males in the text. *Ermaozi*, literally a second generation hairy person, is a term to categorize the male offspring of Chinese and Russians. This term is also consistently used to refer to Lulina's son, Mengdisuofu. It is important to note that the terms, *Er*, signifying second, and *maozi* have particular connotations and their meaning has changed over time in the Chinese historical and cultural contexts.

Er, literally meaning 'two' or 'second,' and has other derivative meanings. Compared with being principal, it also denotes secondary or vice, different, skeptical and uncertain, disloyal, and not to follow, etc.²⁵³ During the Late Qing period, the Hebei and Shandong people and Boxers coined *maozi* to refer abusively and

²⁵³Luo Zhufeng, ed., *Hanyu da cidian* (Shanghai: Hanyu da cidian chubanshe, 1989), Vol. 1, 121.

derogatively to Westerners. *Ermaozi* refers to Chinese Catholics and the Chinese who work for Westerners. *Ermao* is the same as *Ermaozi*. In *Luan zhongguo ji* (Record of turbulent China), Yuan Xu mentions that “one sees Westerners and calls them *damaozi* (big, hairy people) and sees Catholics and calls them *ermaozi* (second hairiest people).”²⁵⁴ In connection with these words, *erguizi*, an abusive word, referring to traitors (who work for Japanese) and the army of the puppet regime, is also used to specifically pinpoint the Koreans in Manchukuo at that time.²⁵⁵ In addition, the Russian language is called *maozi yu*, signifying a language spoken by hairy (Russian) people in the text. (114) *Maozi*, charged with racial perception, initially was the generic term to define all Westerns, not exclusively confined to Russians. Moreover, *ermaozi*²⁵⁶ also included the Chinese who worked with Westerners in a variety of fields, but it particularly designates racial hybrids between Chinese and Russians. Given that language serves as a principal medium through which to construct an identity, the exclusion of the Chinese from the category of *ermaozi* and its use to specifically designate the offspring of Chinese and Russians demonstrates that racial categories and their meaning constantly change and the system of classification became more exclusive and discriminative against a people who were not racially ‘pure.’

However, the Chinese narrator is called *er jiandu*, in which *er* denotes a vice-governor by the Russian woman who does not know Chinese characters as well as her son who receives an elementary school education. Lulina comes to Wang’s office

²⁵⁴Ibid., Vol. 6, 997 and Vol.1, 121.

²⁵⁵Ibid., Vol.1, 129.

²⁵⁶*Ermaozi* also appears in Lu Xun’s essay, “Zayi”(Various memories), written in 1926. He thinks that “Chinese already have enough accumulated resentment and anger, naturally resulting from the oppressors’ devastation. However, they do not resist the strong, but rather give vent to their anger at the weak. . . .” 225. In this process, they come up with peculiar terms such as “*guozei* (national traitor), *hanjian* (traitors/collaborators), *ermaozi*, *yanggou* (running dog of foreigners), and *yangnu* (slave of a foreign master),” (225) Lu Xun’s point is that these words particularly target foreigners, but after all, this will bring calamity upon their compatriots and their descendants, rather than upon their enemies. (225) Lu Xun, *Luxun quanji* (Complete works of Lu Xun) (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1981), Vol. 1, 225.

building and tries to enter the office, without noticing the sign stating, “Off Limits to Sales Persons” because of her illiteracy in Chinese. (113) The mother and the son both consider Wang a knowledgeable Russian-speaking person, although Wang himself does not know the Russian language. While the Russian woman without full competence in written Chinese and her son call Wang *er jiandu*, he prefers being called his family name, Wang, and lets them call him Uncle Wang. Wang is entitled to objectify and subordinate Russians and racial hybrids by calling them particular racially charged terms with negative connotations instead of their Chinese family name, whereas they are not allowed to address him in the same way. With this practice, Wang classifies them into subcategories of people and attaches their social and racial identity to that particular language in social space. The term, *ermaozi* no longer includes the Chinese and thus Russians are subordinated to the Chinese, categorically directing Chinese attention to racial hybridity. This detail illustrates how others impose racial identity upon the offspring of Chinese and Russians by naming them and the inseparable interconnection between language and identity; and at the same, it also contains the possibility that the racial other can talk back to the self, the Chinese majority, although their mode of resistance is totally intercepted from the beginning.

Despite Russian and racial hybrids’ incompetence in language and their racial and cultural difference, serving as markers of their lack of qualification to be pure, authentic Chinese, Wang’s sympathy and material support of them conveys his willingness to accept them or at least shows his tolerance of them. Hage explicates tolerance and its relation to nationalism and points out that “tolerance is not just to accept, it is to accept and position the other within specific limits or boundaries. This concern with limits and boundaries emphasizes, above all, the empowered spatiality

that is part of tolerance.”²⁵⁷ Subjects who tolerate other races or nationalities imagine themselves in a privileged position with spatial power so that they can accept others who are undesirable or are not perfect enough to be authentic nationals; the subjects’ acceptance of the undesirables completely determines their political and national status within cultural and racial hegemony. In Hage’s view, tolerance and intolerance are two sides of the same coin and “[t]here is not tolerant and intolerant nationalism” in that the subjects’ vision about the management of national space is projected in simultaneous inclusion and exclusion of a part of the populace. In this process, the other is reduced to a hapless object to be protected by charitable nationals.²⁵⁸

Wang’s sympathy and financial support of a biracial family initially stems from his affirmation of clear-cut national borderlines, national consciousness, and nationality as a member managing the national space. When he goes to the borderline between the U.S.S.R. and China, “his heart is beating and his blood surges; this is the borderline of the nations which *minzu* and national consciousness are completely different.” (113) Therefore, people who are already in the territory of China are entitled to be Chinese and the creation of their national consciousness is founded upon the premise that it is a natural outcome of their positionality within the national space. According to this logic, a person’s physical presence in the original national space itself becomes a critical index of nationality, which is determined by geographical and territorial borderlines. Once national borders are set up, then, the others who enter from outside this national native space have no choice but to be excluded from the category of *minzu*, since national consciousness can only be formed by the original settlers inside the territory. It is this exclusionary logic that delimits the territorial and geographical borderlines, and insiders are the only subjects who can hold authentic national identity. From Wang’s nationalist perspective, the exclusion of racial hybrids

²⁵⁷Hage, *White Nation*, 89.

²⁵⁸*Ibid.*, 90-95.

is an axiomatic corollary; an individual's social and national identities are firmly fixed alongside predetermined racial and territorial origins, which rules out any possibility of multiplicity in the politics of identity formation.

In short, "Hunxue'r" demonstrates that the state's racial policy of the "harmony of the five races" ironically provides the basis on which to articulate the Chinese national and political aspirations for the formation of Han-centered Chinese nationality. The work represents Han centrality and thus actualizes writers' literary desire to construct the hegemonic power of the Chinese and her racial and cultural supremacy through depictions of hierarchal mappings of Russian exiles and racial hybrids, rather than representing events about leading to the unity of the races. Moreover, despite the state's enactment of the full range of measures to increase state control over art, culture, and literature through the reform of government organizations, as examined by Okada, the depictions of Russians and racial hybrids and their subordination to the Chinese majority demonstrates how loosely the state enforced its cultural and racial policies at the level of administration as well as in the cultural domain.

Racial Hybridity and the Multiplicity of Social Identities in "Pixie" (A pair of leather shoes) by Ku Tu

Unlike the previous stories, in which Chinese position racial hybridity for the sake of their national identity formation and nationality, "Pixie" (A pair of leather shoes) written by Ku Tu, recounts an inspiring story of how a racial hybrid can have multiple identities, not centralized and fixed to and by one of her "racial origins"; it shows that identity formation is more concerned with an individual's pursuit of ideals in life rather than with nationalistic agendas that purport to shape a unified national identity. Also, the title of the story has no racial connotations, but rather it stands for the protagonist's indigent material condition as an offspring of a Chinese father and a

Russian mother. The child's detached relationship from her parents and her economically independent status reveal that parental heritage is not always passed down by descendants through generations and it can even be dissociated from an individual's diasporic identity formation.

Synopsis

Like "Hunxue'r," this story also describes several accidental encounters of the Chinese narrator, Ms. W., with Zhao Yinna, a half-Chinese and half-Russian girl at places near her surroundings and Ms. W.'s reminiscences of her. The girl's pair of worn leather shoes catches Miss W.'s immediate attention and symbolizes Yinna's hapless and destitute living conditions. Her Chinese father is a thief, and her Russian mother has died, so she supports herself financially by delivering milk, selling newspapers and fresh flowers, which are among the common tropes to represent the economically depressed predicament of immigrant Russians' livelihoods in cultural production and in reality. Since she is desperate at this stage of her life and takes on these duties, the girl is always late for class. The Chinese narrator speaks supportingly of Yinna as a way of expressing her sympathy for the girl. Through correspondence with Yinna's classmates, the narrator learns that she has embarked on a new professional career as a renowned dancer in a dance hall.

The Chinese narrator first wants to check her racial and national origins and assumes that the girl must be Russian because of her appearance and her given name. After she learns the girl's racial background, she tries to further ascertain her preference of racial and national identity and has a conversation about it with her. The narrator asks:

"You can speak Russian, right? Do you like being Russian or being Chinese?"

“I talk with my father in Chinese and used to talk with my mother in Russian, but I dislike the Manzhou people [the Chinese] and like being Russian.”

“Why? Is this because Russians look good?”

“No, all Manzhou people are somewhat insidious; [people] who pretend to be nice in appearance, talk in a sanctimonious way, and look virtuous, can do bad things secretly; my father is not as bold as mother is, and he is not as sincere as my mother was to me.”

“A mother’s love toward her daughter in general will be stronger than that of the father’s. Also, people cannot conclude all Manzhou people are bad because of these things.”

“No, Miss W.! My words go a bit too far. I should say, I only dislike Manzhou people like my father.”²⁵⁹

After this mutual misunderstanding, they exchange their views via mail. Yinna’s point is that not all Manzhou people are bad and she cannot judge which people are better simply by judging them based on her parents’ natures; rather, she notes Russian children around her are all innocent, blithe, and frolicsome. She surmises that all people are good, but that some of them turn bad later for no reason. The Chinese narrator writes back and says that not all Chinese and foreigners are bad or good and that they are all humans. The narrator thinks people should not have any barriers between them, and that young people like Yinna and her friends are trying to eliminate barriers, since they are not yet influenced by evil forces in society. Yinna can be both Chinese and Russian, but what is important is that “[Yinna] should become a person with clear reason and will and make a strenuous effort.”²⁶⁰

Although the story first presents a racially hybrid child’s viewpoints about her parents on the basis of the simplistic dichotomy of good and bad people, it does show that a diasporic identity can be multiple and can be dissociated with national identity formation inside the host country and outside the ‘homeland,’ as the narrative unfolds.

²⁵⁹Ku Tu, “Pixie” (A pair of leather shoes), *Mingming* (Gateway), 1.5 (1937): 61.

²⁶⁰*Ibid.*, 62.

Yinna's affirmation of her mother and the negation of her father are not necessarily tied to racial perceptions, but rather to personal characteristics and morality. Although Miss W. emphasizes a particularly strong bond between mother and daughter in identity formation, Yinna does not confirm this idea, either. She values her mother's sincere and brave nature, but the valorization of her characteristics is not grounded in her racial origins, although Yinna mentions her racial preference in the first place. Her dissociation from the father is a matter of the difference of personality; his morality does not suit her as an independent child who was in the stages of cultivating a sense of personal and social morality and basic good human nature and girding herself up for future possible ordeals. By Yinna's standard, people lacking morality are not desirable, regardless of their racial and national origins, as she clarifies in her letter to Miss W. . The father, a thief, is denied for the reason that he falls far short of moral values and ethical actions as a human being. Her negation of her father signals not only the loss and absence of patriarchic power in the family, but also the precedence of morality and ethics over racial heritage in determining personal social and racial identity.

Moreover, Yinna's particular relation to her father and mother offers an important perspective from which to look into the social mechanisms in which diasporic identity is shaped in conjunction with gender. As far as a diaspora is concerned, gender division and politics are key issues; women tend to be represented as carriers of culture who mediate between fathers and children. Both women's empowerment and disempowerment depend on social and geopolitical contexts in diasporic communities, as compared with their 'original' homes. By contrast, migrant males in host countries tend to be empowered in the domestic sphere but disempowered in the public sphere due to racial hierarchy and widespread fear of non

whites' sexuality.²⁶¹ What is significant in the text is that Yinna's Russian mother does not assume the role of indoctrinating Yinna as a vessel of her racial and cultural heritage; instead she disappears into the text and exists as a nominal being who only offers a racial background to the protagonist. The mother is not represented as a bearer of racial and cultural origin, nor is Yinna identified and affirmed as such. The absence of the mother does not imply that a mother has to disappear in order to allow the transmission the racial heritage of the father's side, but it functions as an empty signifier, whose meaning is hollow and resists being fixed to any racial identification or belonging.

The Chinese narrator, however, acknowledges that Yinna can choose her racial heritage by following either her father or mother. Becoming either a Chinese or a Russian is all the same to the narrator. By this logic, Yinna must be torn between the two sides of her racial origins, and their coexistence or in-betweenness is precluded by the rigid categorization of race. It should be pointed out, however, that becoming either a Chinese or a Russian is devoid of any racial preference and judgment in hierarchical ways. The Chinese narrator's cardinal concern is that a person has reason and will and her emphasis on making efforts to become such a person significantly encapsulates the changing nature of identity formation. That is, an individual's personal and social identities are constantly altered and formed, depending on the individual's positioning in the sociopolitical and historical condition, rather than being fixed and prescribed by racial and national origins. The placement of rationality over sentimentality, however, can also produce and reproduce polarized Manichean dichotomy. Hence, the affirmation of possible fluctuations in the phase of identity formation means that Yinna's social identity is also being shaped and produced to resist the construction of homogeneity exclusively identified with a single racial

²⁶¹Kalra, *Diaspora and Hybridity*, 52-57.

lineage. To step up the effort to become a rational person before the formation of one's racial identity comes to be more important than being a national through the assertion of racial origins or the choice of national identity or citizenship.

Yinna also clearly recognizes that her parents' qualities and characteristics do not represent their racial origins and thus cannot be applied and extended to a whole race, for she defers her decision about racial and national preference. Although she refutes her father due to his immorality, she does not equate his lack of moral consciousness with his racial background and attributes it to his personal choice of moral values. Her refusal to essentialize the nature of peoples as something determined by and consistent with those of racial and national origins suggests a non-national modality standing up to societal coercion that compels an individual to choose one heritage through the exclusion of the others. Moreover, her economically independent status is no better than being homeless and thus contests consanguinity based on the home and its meaning in social relations and reproduction. In this respect, Yinna's spatial and temporal relations to the national space of Manchukuo, as well as to the home as a basic unit of the state, are unsettled or exist as the moment of a pause, whose effect is to hold categorization, belonging, and fixation back. Her delay in choosing her cultural affiliation and allegiance to particular racial and national origins also interrupts the production and continuity of spatial and temporal homogeneity that render unifying racial and national values possible. Yinna's unstable spatial relation to the national space and her in-betweeness offer important insight into exploring the possibility of forming a multiple and plural subjectivity beyond racial and national lines and boundaries, thereby contesting and rejecting the fixity of one particular, dominant identity. The formation of a unifying, coherent, and dominant identity is acutely called into question, and it can no longer be tenable due to the very potential of border-crossing yet not border-making.

Conclusion

Fictional representations of racial hybridity in the Chinese literature of Manchukuo display a complex web of social, racial, and national formations in imagining and constructing race and racial boundaries and ideology to forge a dominant and homogenous national identity and nationality, while foregrounding the possibility of shaping an identity detached from such formation. Depictions of the offspring of Chinese and Russians illustrate a distinctive pattern and are developed by a social and cultural logic of exclusion and inclusion. First, in order to construct the Han Chinese supremacy over racial hybrids and foreign others, narratives subordinate the latter and even have them further colonized by the Chinese in sociopolitical, economical, and cultural settings. The others' social rank is lower than the Chinese; the economic instability and the destitute situation of exiles and their descendents embody symbolically their hapless and utterly powerless status in which the economic and sociopolitical aspects of their lives must be governed and protected by the Chinese majority, who, in fact, differentiate and exclude them but without awareness of their discrimination or coat their discrimination with the guise of hospitality toward immigrant Russians. Second, the racial, social, and national identities of racial hybrids are largely, or more often than not, completely determined by a Chinese subject, and the Chinese are the final agents that make definite decisions about racial hybrids' national identity. Chinese can only include and accept mixed-bloods in part, insofar as they fulfill Chinese standards for being considered Chinese. But even after fulfilling all the conditions and qualifications, their final racial and national identity can be defined only by the Chinese, and they still remain socially and politically ambiguous as either mixed-bloods or foreigners. Third, the Chinese notion of whiteness neither confers any white supremacy nor guarantees sociopolitical and economical privilege in literary representations; the white body, however, is included and integrated in the

narrative because of its visibility and alterity, resulting in textual visualization and the hierarchical arrangement of race.

The racialized body becomes an interlocking site in which racial formation and the hegemony of Han Chinese nationalism come into play as the confluence of gendered racial division and power. At the same time, however, the substitution of the phrase “mixed water” for “mixed blood” signifies a potential for a counter-discourse opposed to the norm of pure blood, which is putatively imagined and systematically constituted. In addition, the dissolution of a home problematizes its existing perception as a shelter, so that its primary function and meaning as a basic unit to form a nation is profoundly challenged with reference to a subject’s position in the nation as well as in the family. The intersection of race and nationality reveals the intricate dynamics of identity formation in which racial hybrids and immigrants’ relational positionality are at once associated and dissociated with the process of nation building; their positionality is integrated within racial and national boundaries, yet at the same time, it can be divorced from them. From the standpoint of literature and cultural exchange, the Russian diaspora in Manchuria provides a fertile ground for examining racial politics, identity formation, and nation building among non-colonizers engaged in cultural production. The literary imagination of race and racial hybridity stimulates a new mode of writing such as detective fiction in which the conventionality of genre, the system of signs, and racial thinking are simultaneously challenged. Thus, two opposing or multiple axes of production of race and nationality in literary texts exemplify diverse modalities of social and racial formations in which constituting and deconstructing elements concurrently interact. The nexus of these two forces contains a possible contingency that can prefigure a new meaning of the social which go beyond spatial and temporal and racial homogeneity for nation building. In short, the significance of the Russian diaspora in the Chinese literature of Manchukuo resides in

this potentiality where racial and national boundary making and crossing takes place synchronically in the literary imagination.

CHAPTER 3:
**(DE) CONSTRUCTING AN ‘IN-BETWEEN’ RACE: BOUNDARIES,
CLOTHING, AND NATIONALITY IN REPRESENTATIONS OF KOREANS
IN THE CHINESE AND KOREAN LITERATURE OF MANCHUKUO**

Introduction

This chapter will examine fictional representations of Koreans written by Chinese as well as “Korean” writers from Manchukuo by reading literary works that share the subjects of clothing, homeland, and nationality.²⁶² Koreans’ distinctive yet ambiguous ethnic and national status in Manchukuo is primarily due to Japan’s colonization of Korea (1910-1945), bringing about a large-scale Korean migration to Manchuria, although Koreans had lived in this region and crossed the border for economic and political reasons before this time. As the Chinese did Russians in Manchukuo, the Chinese perceived Koreans as a stateless people without a homeland, the object of compassion and a partner in solidarity to resist Japanese imperialism, a theme predominantly represented in the Chinese literature of Manchukuo.²⁶³ At the same time, however, they called the Japanese *guizi*, ghosts, and the Koreans *er guizi*,

²⁶²Korean Chinese and South Korean scholars have often argued that Manchurian literature before liberation is part of either Korean Chinese literature or Korean literature. It can fill the literary vacuum in which Koreans were forbidden from writing in Korean from 1941 to 1945 during the Japanese colonial period (1910-1945), and Oh Yang Ho has primarily suggested this view. Oh Yang Ho, *Han’guk munhak gwa kando* (Korean Literature and Kando (Jiandao)) (Seoul: Munye ch’ulp’ansa, 1988). However, I do not intend to situate the Korean literature of Manchuria in this context but rather to regard it as not belonging to either side. By using the word ‘Korean,’ I merely indicate the authors’ ethnic and national lineage, an official identification which was often used to specify their racial background in Manchukuo. Hereafter, I will use the word without quotation marks.

²⁶³The theme is presented in Xiao Jun’s novel, *Village in August*, which depicts Anna, a Korean female revolutionary who travels with Chinese comrades. Xiao Jun, *Bayue de xiangcun* (Village in August) (Shanghai: Zuojia shuwu kanxing, 1934, reprinted 1947) and *Village in August* (New York: Smith & Durrell Press, 1954).

By contrast, Xing’s short story, “Lu,” (Road) depicts the march of a Chinese volunteer army and the particular experiences of a mixed-blood man, the offspring between a Russian and a Chinese during the Russo-Japanese Wars. The mixed-blood, called *xiaobairen*, meaning “white man,” is excluded from the march in the end. Liang Shanding, ed., *Zhuxinji* (Candlewick) (Shenyang: Chunfeng weiyi chubanshe, 1989), 45-62.

literally meaning second ghosts. *Er guizi* is an abusive, derogatory term categorizing Koreans as running dogs or followers of the Japanese.²⁶⁴ To be sure, colonial rule imposed the order of peoples on the colonized, and thus Koreans and Chinese were both naturally classified as colonized. Despite this commonality, their interactions and social relations were far from equal and amicable as they imagined racial boundaries in representations as well as lived them in historical reality.

More significantly, Chinese encounters with Koreans or *vice versa* specifically exemplify how race and nationality are constructed through the contact of peoples with racial and cultural proximity in terms of physical features, which differentiates these contacts from their contacts with White Russians. Moreover, the coexistence of literary works on similar topics epitomizes the problem of the representing and the represented *par excellence*. The juxtaposition of stories from both Chinese and Korean perspectives suggests that an unavoidable and unbridgeable gap between the representing and the represented can at least be reduced to some degree and at once further amplified. Thus, my purpose in juxtaposing Chinese and Korean literary works lies neither in critically assessing the artistic quality of each work nor in identifying their meaning and value for the formation of a unified, national history of literature. Rather, I am particularly concerned with exploring and elucidating subtle yet complex ways in which ideas of race and nationality are created among culturally and physically proximate peoples, emerging out of the state's enactment of the policy of racial harmony and the imposition of the hierarchy of peoples. In the absence of visible racial markers ascribed to the body, Chinese and Korean writers came up with a sophisticated means which stood in place for their racial status and identity, and they fleshed out their stories about clothing in a more nuanced way.

²⁶⁴Tsukase Susumu, *Manshūkoku minzoku kyōwa no jitsujō* (Real images of racial harmony of Manchukuo) (Tokyo: Yoshigawakobunkan, 1998), 104.

This chapter is divided into two parts according to thematic concerns, all of which are crucially interconnected in the end: (1) clothing and identity formation in Mei Niang's "Qiaomin" (Overseas peoples) and Imamura Eiji's (Kūmch'on Yōngpch'i in Korean) "Dōkōsha" (A companion);²⁶⁵ (2) perceptions of a homeland and dual nationalities in Shu Qun's "Meiyou zuguo de haizi" (Children without a homeland) and Kim Man Sŏn's "Ijung gukchōk" (Dual nationalities).²⁶⁶ The first two works not only depict the Korean presence in Japan and Manchukuo, but they also use clothes as a leitmotif in their narratives. The employment of clothing presents a marked contrast with Chinese writers' portrayal of the physical features of Russians, Chinese, and Russian racial hybrids. Clothing in these two stories plays a pivotal role in demarcating racial boundaries and is used as a principal means through which to represent and forge a national identity. Thus, dress embodies more than the material covering the body; clothing generates symbolic meanings, which ultimately impart deep and intense existential angst and ruminations to non-colonizers in the imperial

²⁶⁵Joanne Entwistle has clarified slight differences among the terms "adornment," "dress," and "fashion" by reviewing other scholars' definitions of them. Anthropologists commonly use both "adornment" and "dress." The former emphasizes the artistic aspects of clothing that alters the body through personal choice, but the latter involves an action, a process of covering the body. Fashion "is a particular system of dress found under particular social circumstances." Joanne Entwistle, *The Fashioned Body: Fashion, Dress, and Modern Social Theory* (Cambridge UK: Polity Press, 2000), 43-44. In this chapter, I will use "clothing" and "dress" together with "fashion," since their representations are linked with race and nationality. Norman Smith has translated the title of "Qiaomin" as "Expatriates." Smith, *Resisting Manchukuo*, 68. However, I think characters' motivation for coming to Japan, the metropolis—such as forced migration as part of the colonizer's labor exploitation of colonized peoples, political exile, or migration for a better life—is not explicitly stated in the story. "Overseas peoples" here means peoples living in a country which is not their own. Chinese and Koreans had to cross the river to go to Japan, so I also consider this fact. However, Mei's revised version of this story clearly describes the Korean characters' nature of movement. I will explain this point in the body of this chapter later. Mei Niang, "Qiaomin" (Overseas peoples), *Xin manzhou* (New Manchuria) 3.6 (1941): 180-184. Imamura Eiji, "Dōkōsha" (A companion), *Manshū bungei nenkan* (Manchurian almanac of literature and art) (Fengtian [Shenyang]: Manmō hyōronsha, 1939), 292-303. This work has been translated by Chae Hun from Japanese into Korean. Chae Hun, *Ilje kangjōngi chaeman han'guk munhak yŏn'gu* (A Study of the Korean Literature of Manchuria during the Japanese occupation) (Seoul: Kip'ūnsaem, 1990) 301-318. The latter is used as the text here, but I also consulted the original Japanese version when necessary.

²⁶⁶Shu Qun, "Meiyou zuguo de haizi" (Children without a homeland), *Wenxue* (Literature) 6.5 (May 1936): 605-615, Kim Man Sŏn "Ijung gukchōk" (Dual nationalities), *Han'guk kŭndae munhak taegye* (Series of modern Korean literature), Kwŏn, Yōng Min, et al. (Seoul: T'aehaksa, 1988), 58-86. The original text was published in 1946 and the original copy of the text was reprinted in this book.

metropolis and the colony. The last two stories specifically describe Koreans' complicated national status as a stateless people without a homeland, or a people with the nationality of Manchukuo, who are registered as Chinese according to the nationality law but are considered Japanese in their social relations in the local community, and who actually and strategically straddle the borders of China, Korea, and Japan.

Furthermore, what is remarkable and provocative in the depictions of characters and their clothes is that a Japanese man wears Korean clothes and a Korean man wears Chinese clothes, both in order to pass for the other, as part of the main plot of "A Companion." The transformation of a 'colonizer' and a second-class 'colonizer's' racial and national status into a 'colonized' one through a change of costume cogently encapsulates the complex processes of simultaneous boundary making and crossing and an unbridgeable rupture between a previous, given self and a present, disguised self. The significance of the former is conditioned and determined by the individual's natural body as it is given and putatively perceived and the individual's nationality as partially or entirely conferred by the law.²⁶⁷ However, the latter's meaning is generated from the gap between a given 'truth' or authenticity and a simulated representation for claiming the disguised self as authentic, that is, between who one is or was and what one wants "to look like" to the other as well as oneself. The transformability of an individual's identity via attire, a material means to embody racial, cultural, and national values, also corresponds to the change in the individual's

²⁶⁷ Alexandra Warwick and Dan Cavallaro notes that "[d]ress, as a pervasive vehicle for the fabrication of culturally viable subjects, is in a position to increase our sensitivity to the gap between the putatively natural body and its represented, artificial counterparts . . ." Dani Cavallaro and Alexandra Warwick, *Fashioning the Frame: Boundaries, Dress and Body* (Oxford and New York: Berg, 1998), 4. I am not only concerned with the gap between the natural body and the dressed body but also the ways in which the two bodies are situated in spatial and temporal relations in the intricate social webs of an individual's national origin, law, and nationality in the course of formations of imperial, fluid, multiple identities. My reading of the literary works about clothing draws primarily from post-structuralists' approach to fashion and identity formation, but it also features the personal and historical discourses of clothing to capture multivalent aspects of its (re)presentations and social mobilization for the actualization of imperial taste and spirit by the colonized.

legal and national status through the acquisition of a new nationality. In this regard, the two thematic concerns about clothing and nationality are intrinsically interconnected though expressed in different forms and motifs.

Centering around the relationship between clothing and identity formation, I explore how and why Chinese and Korean writers used a motif of clothing to demarcate racial and national boundaries and to represent national identity. I particularly pursue the following issues: how clothing functions in the time and space in which the characters are situated and produces symbolic meanings in the process of forging and representing a national and simulated identity and the significance of the gap between a given, ‘authentic,’ national self and a represented, feigned self and of passing for the ‘colonized’ in the politics of identity formation. I show how an individual’s legal and national identity can be fluid and ambivalent, arising from an individual’s transitory attempt to pass as the colonized while the identity is being formed through multiple and previous phases in the individual’s social relations. I examine the meaning of the transformability of identity and its existential significance in the symbolic exchange of clothing through this racial and national contact. By examining the social logics and mechanisms of the creation of race among Chinese, Japanese, and Koreans, I show that Manchuria was an open and hybrid space in which cultural agents voiced their heteroglossia when exercising their own mode of power to draw racial boundaries and divisions, while contesting the very mechanisms that produce them; it shows exactly how the production of a technology of subjectivity was diversified and the cartography of colonial relations was complicated.

Racializing Clothing and Fashion: Colonial Order and Imperial Desire and Mei Niang’s Feminist Writing in “Qiaomin” (Overseas Peoples)

This section starts with a discussion of Mei Niang’s professional career as a feminist writer in Manchukuo and then addresses how the author perceived and

depicted Koreans, which was in part informed by her childhood in Manchuria. Her views on Koreans at the time and their representations in her story, “Qiaomin,” problematize the existing notion of racial hierarchy imposed upon the colonized by the colonial rule. They particularly exemplify how the colonized can remap the order of race in the metropolis. Her work is less or least concerned with resistance to Japanese colonialism, a cardinal component of her feminist writing, but one less crucial than the othering and positioning of the colonized by themselves. Thus, the examination of racial formations among non-colonizers in Mei’s work offers a new, critical approach to Mei’s literary value and achievement, as well as the Chinese literature of Manchukuo.

Mei Niang (1920-) was one of the eminent and influential female writers from Manchukuo whose works were applauded at the second and third Greater East Asian Writers’ Congresses, which were held in Tokyo and Nanjing in 1943 and 1944, respectively.²⁶⁸ As quoted and addressed in the introduction of this dissertation, Smith argues that Mei and other women writers contested the state-centered constructions of ideal womanhood and motherhood through their creative writing and this literary agenda is also one of central aspects of her fiction writing. However, deviating from Smith’s analytical perspective of feminism in Mei’s literary work, I focus on how Mei’s work represents non-colonized people’s relational positionality with the motif of clothing as the embodiment of their nationalities, which are intricately interlocked with race, gender, and class. With the introduction of the main plot of the story, this section addresses Mei’s particular, personal relation to clothing in her family life during her youth and its close connection to her creative writing.

²⁶⁸Smith, *Resisting Manchukuo*, 55-58.

Synopsis

The story recounts a Chinese woman's encounter with a Korean couple and their baby as they board and ride an electronic express train from Osaka to Kobe. A very subtle yet unspeakable and complicated tension arises as a Korean man hints that the Chinese woman can sit on a seat that is two seats away from the spot where he stands and that is already occupied by a Korean woman. Without telling the Chinese woman directly, the Korean man points out the seat while ranting at the Korean woman, presumably his wife, as if berating her, in a language that the Chinese woman does not understand at all. Puzzled by this abrupt and unexpected favor, the Chinese woman does not understand his action and why the offer is made five minutes after the train's departure, and this event triggers her latent anxiety over her appearance and surroundings. She surmises that it is because her hands are full with a newspaper and sack of candy, or because she looks shabby in her black coat, which has a hole in the left pocket, or simply because she is a woman, and there are no other female, decently-dressed [Japanese] passengers around her. Seized with an undercurrent of disquiet and uncertainty about the intentions behind his kindness, no matter how she tries to speculate about his reasons, she cannot guess at them correctly because of the language barrier. Eventually, she observes the couple's appearance and outfits and makes comparisons of them with her own. When the train approaches its destination, she discovers that the Korean man does not have a watch, an overt sign of modernity and high class at the time, since he does not push back his sleeve to look at it. She is in a dither for a moment over whether to give her watch to him because it is too round and big for a woman, but she does not in the end. When the train arrives in Kobe, a shower of rain starts falling, however, all three people lack umbrellas. The narrator worries that the Korean woman's precious clothing will get wet. She hopes that her

Korean husband will spend enough money to let her take a bus, so that she can keep her dress dry.

Mei Niang's Perception of Clothing and Sartorial Practice in Her Youth

According to Mei's aunt, Mei was born in Vladivostok. Her father met her birthmother when he visited Vladivostok as a freight manager with the Chinese Eastern Railway. But her birthmother fell into a hole in Changchun while the husband was on a business trip, and this accident eventually led to her passing away.²⁶⁹ So Mei was reared by her stepmother, who often beat Mei with a soft leather strap. She also bound Mei's body up in silk, turning Mei into something that she could show off to others. She ordered Mei to wear fancy and expensive clothes to display them to her noble lady friends. Mei felt that she was like a doll, "a Japanese doll wearing thin, patterned silk clothing with an awkward and artificial smile, a gift from one of my father's Japanese friends in the living room. . . . I never understood what kind of pleasure people take in wearing new clothes."²⁷⁰ At the same time, however, she also wore western clothes that her father brought from Harbin as she drove a two-wheeled wagon on dirt roads in the suburb of Changchun with her father.²⁷¹ When her father celebrated a [solar] new year, she was forced to wear western short clothes that her birthmother liked as she welcomed his guests, playing the role of her dead

²⁶⁹Zhang Quan, ed., *Xunzhao Mei Niang (Searching [for] The World of Mei Niang*, translation in the original text) (Brampton, Canada: Mirrorbooks, 1998), 99.

Kishi Yōko points out that Mei Niang's pen name connotes "without a mother"; her family name is interchangeable with *mei*, denoting "without," and *niang* signifies "mother." "Lun Mei Niang' duanpian xiaoshuo 'Qiaomin,'" trans. Guo Wei "A Study of Mei Niang's 'Qiaomin,'" unpublished paper, 4. I thank researcher Zhang Quan for providing me with a copy of this article.

²⁷⁰Zhang, *Xunzhao Mei Niang*, 99-101.

²⁷¹*Ibid.*, 102. Smith has also quoted this passage without mentioning the clothing, instead providing it as an example of Mei's independent character, like a man, which was fostered by her father, as stated in the text. "To the shock of local residents, Mei Niang drove a horse and carriage through the streets." Smith, *Resisting Manchukuo*, 65. However, this is the literal translation: "He [Mei's father] also often drove a two-wheel wagon with me and ran it on dirt roads of the suburb of Changchun. He handed over the reins to me and let me drive it freely." Zhang, *Ibid.*, 102. Mei was with her father when she drove "a two-wheel wagon," purchased from France, not the carriage. *Ibid.*, 102.

birthmother.²⁷² When the family celebrated a lunar new year, she wore a red silk shirt from her father's Japanese acquaintances in Changchun. Mei's clothing was praised at school, but she felt that it actually represented her father's prestigious status and power in the regional community, since even the Japanese tried to approach him in order to do business with him.²⁷³

Judging from Mei's memory of clothes and sartorial practice in her youth, her relationship with them is twofold. On a personal level, fashion became insignificant in Mei's life, for her stepmother and father totally deprived her of her freedom of expression in dress. This experience, which involves both personal affliction and public admiration, plunged her into the state of being estranged from herself and the clothed body; as a result, the garments did not generate any value for her but functioned as a thing devoid of any meaning. However, at the national level, clothing became a symbol of modern western and Japanese culture as well as of her privileged social class. Her convoluted yet ambivalent attitude toward fashion is more fully expressed in her depictions of Koreans. In connection to Mei's literary career as a feminist, "Qiaomin" also shows her keen awareness of asymmetrical gender relations among the colonized. In the story, the Korean man's role is akin to that of the patriarch who gives an order to his wife to yield the seat; she is subordinated to him even in the train, a public space, signaling the extension of his rule in the public domain in which he is present. My interview with Mei in August, 2007 also attests to the fact that Mei tried to express her sympathy with the Korean woman. She opined that the Chinese woman's idea of giving her watch to him was described with a specific intention to taunt his control over females' agency.²⁷⁴

²⁷²Ibid., 108.

²⁷³Ibid., 143.

²⁷⁴I interviewed Mei Niang in Beijing on October 4, 2006 and August 22, 2007. This acknowledgment is from the second interview, which was conducted with a focus on this work.

Koreans as a “Second Ghost” and the Japanese as Models of Fashion: Colonial Order and Imperial Desire in Mei Niang’s Feminist Writing

However, this story is far more multi-layered and nuanced in representing Mei’s association with Koreans in Manchuria through literary imaginings of attire, taste, and nationality. She told me that most Koreans did deeds of darkness for the Japanese to make their living; for example, drug trafficking in opium was a typical type of business which was impossible for them to engage in without the protection of Japanese officials.²⁷⁵ When her father attempted to purchase a plot of land when she was entering elementary school, a Korean informed a Japanese banker of this, so his plan fell flat. Thus, she explicitly stated that she wrote this story to project her repugnance toward Koreans, dating far back to early childhood when she was in Manchuria; they often looked down upon the Chinese more than the Japanese did.²⁷⁶ Her perception of Koreans exactly parallels the Chinese categorization of Koreans as running dogs of the Japanese, a view prevalent in Manchuria at the time, thereby falling back into the same groove of racialized mapping of people. Contrary to this

²⁷⁵My interview with Mei on August 22, 2007. Mei’s opinion is in part true, but this is a very complicated historical issue related to Chinese, Japanese, Russians, and other foreigners in Manchukuo. According to statistics presented at the meeting for regulating opium in 1919, Changchun was a trading center for opium. Of the total population engaged in this business, Russians constituted 70 percent, Chinese 20 percent, and Japanese (including Koreans) 10 percent. Park Kang, “‘Manjuguk’ ap’yŏnmayak milmae taech’aek gwa chaeman hanin” (Manchukuo’s measures against drug and opium trafficking and Koreans in Manchukuo) *Hanjung inmunhak yŏn’gu* (Studies of Korean and Chinese Humanities, translation in the original text) 19 (December 2006): 465. Park also quotes a passage about the amount of opium traded by Koreans in Harbin in the 1920s from John M. Jennings’s study on opium and Japanese imperialism. Jennings points out that Koreans and Russians handled the lowest amount of opium, compared to Chinese and Japanese. However, on the whole, more than half of Koreans living in northern Manchuria were related to the opium trade, which gave a negative impression about them to the outside world. John M. Jennings, *The Opium Empire: Japanese Imperialism and Drug Trafficking in Asia 1895-1945* (Westport: Praeger, 1997), 58-59 and Park, Ibid., 466. In short, before the establishment of Manchukuo, many Koreans who were engaged in drug trafficking used their Japanese nationality, because immigrant Koreans were able to purchase land only after they were naturalized as Chinese. So, Koreans’ smuggling drug was carried out with the connivance of Japanese. However, after the establishment of Manchukuo in 1932, the state monopolized opium and licensed designated retail stores to sell it. In the case of Harbin, 24 Chinese were permitted, but only 6 Koreans were designated. For a more detailed account of the roundup and exclusion of Koreans after the complete abolishment of extraterritoriality rights in 1937, see Park, Ibid., 475-487. For a more detailed discussion on Manchukuo’s monopoly and suppression of opium trade and their side effects, see Jennings, Ibid., 81-90.

²⁷⁶My interview with Mei in 2006 and 2007.

widespread view of Koreans, some recent studies on Koreans in Manchuria squarely substantiate the fact that Korean immigrants were not a dominant group employed by the government but were chiefly engaged in agriculture.²⁷⁷ For education, they were compelled to attend either Chinese or Japanese schools, since higher Korean institutions were unavailable for them due to lack of resources, directly blocking their upward social mobility.²⁷⁸ It is not my intention to show which group of people was in fact legally and socially superior to whom; instead, I would like to point out that the actual meaning of Koreans' role and their social relations to other racial groups in Manchukuo are not invariably given but are always contingent upon race, class, and gender in a specific, historical context. Examining from the perspective of the author's intention, Mei's ideas about Koreans and her projection of personal experience onto the writing subject are nothing but the reaffirmation of a dominant racial perception of Koreans as second-class Japanese colonial subjects. However, this work also significantly illustrates how racialized gazes function and determine an individual's existential meaning in a public space where non-colonizers mutually create the subdued inner tension which is never uttered but constitutes the kernel of the narrative. On the one hand, it is indicative of the reproduction of a colonial relation between the colonized; on the other hand, it unfolds a narrative of appearance, dress, and fashion in a space in which time and motion develop in linear fashion toward a final destination, and the verbal jointly overlaps and interweaves with the visual.

Susan Kaiser has proposed a concept, "minding appearance," as a new way of understanding the locus and meaning of the fashioned body, style, 'truth' claims, and subjectivity in the process of identity formation in her study, "Minding Appearance:

²⁷⁷Han Suk-Jung, *Manjuguk kŏn'guk ŭi chaehaesŏk* (Reinterpretation of the foundation of Manchukuo) (Pusan: Dongah University Press, 2007), 157-204.

²⁷⁸Yoon Hwytak, "<Manjuguk> idŭng kong(kung)min: kŭ silsang kwa hŏsang" (The second-class nationals/citizens: reality and false images) *Yŏksahakpo* (*The Korean Historical Review*, translation in the original text) 169 (March 2001): 156-159.

Style, Truth, and Subjectivity.” She suggests “minding appearance” as an alternative concept that can overcome representations of being and becoming in a linear and verbal way. The author maintains that “[m]inding appearances enables the visual, embodied representations of ‘who I am and who I am becoming’ along with ideas, possibilities, ambivalence and anxieties with which I may find it difficult to grapple, much less resolve, in a verbal, linear, conscious manner.”²⁷⁹ “At a minimum, we need to begin to understand minding appearance as embodied, nonlinear, integrative, elastic, and shifting ways of knowing that become visible because people inevitably appear. . . .”²⁸⁰ In this framework, minding appearance becomes a crucial means to voice and articulate an individual’s positionality in relation to others through style that is otherwise difficult to pursue and express in linear, verbal modes of thinking and representation. In this regard, “[m]inding appearance is a visual, embodied epistemology.”²⁸¹ It “is an epistemology of experimentation with the tenuous boundaries among identities” and “can be an epistemology of ambiguity” that self and other relationships and their truth claims are inevitably represented but their meanings are contingent and accessed in their interactions.²⁸² In this process, the function of appearance, looks, and style does not reside in the discovery of ‘essence’ or a ‘true self’; appearance “facilitates making the best possible approximation of who one is, and is in the process of becoming, in a given cultural moment.”²⁸³

The Chinese narrator’s fastidious judgmental observation of the Korean man and woman’s appearance and fashion also involves “minding appearance,” though it is more concerned with making racial boundaries for claiming a stylistically represented national subject in the linear world. In other words, the colonized’s relational position

²⁷⁹Susan Kaiser, “Minding Appearance: Style, Truth, and Subjectivity,” in *Body Dressing*, ed. Joanne Entwistle and Elizabeth Wilson (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2001), 80.

²⁸⁰*Ibid.*, 84.

²⁸¹*Ibid.*, 88.

²⁸²*Ibid.*, 88-90.

²⁸³*Ibid.*, 90.

is less related to “an epistemology of ambiguity” brought about by the interaction of verbal and visual representations of the dressed body. Rather, such a position gives a meaning for creating and articulating delicate yet essential national differences expressed by the conspicuous details of traditional and western dress. The visually articulated, clothed body is situated in a time-limited space in which its final destination approaches at a designated time. It is because the Korean man’s kind gesture is made five minutes after the train’s departure that the narrator becomes leery of the sudden, inscrutable favor and speculates over the actual intention and meaning of his hospitality. If the man had offered the seat right after departure, there would have been no reason for the narrator to mind “the other’s appearance and style.” In addition, the watch she wants to give the man also stands for the linear world that places a value on time and materiality. The watch further denotes that the bearer possesses the social prerogative, especially when watches were back then not prevalent among commoners. Rather than contesting and contemplating the elimination of a linear mode of reasoning and its narrative, the addition of a watch and time consciousness to the narrator serve to confine her preoccupation with fashion into a fixed, almost immutable, national style.

Above all in the narrative, a racialized, national style does not mean a simple, cultural difference, but it serves as a repository of an individual’s nationality and embodies a colonial order according to a standard of fashion, a logic of hygiene, and a feeling of superiority, which is in part derived from the length of time colonial subjects lived in the Japanese metropolis. The Chinese narrator looks at the couples’ clothing carefully and portrays them in greater detail: “she wears on a pair of brown Korean shoes, whose toes shine, and white cotton socks. I saw all Korean women wearing Japanese *geta*, a wooden sandal, and all Korean men wearing Japanese workers’ *shui* socks, and there are no such rubber Korean shoes, whose toes are

pointed. [They are unavailable] at the market in Japan.”²⁸⁴ Through this careful observation and judgmental thinking of their mode of dress, the narrator finally comes to a conclusion that the Korean woman must be a new-comer. As for the Korean man’s fashion, he is a little more stylish than she is in that he wears leather shoes, an item whose shortage has just hit Japan. He wears western pants, but his coat and vest do not look like part of a three-piece suit. (181-182)

With the Chinese narrator’s own finickiness about the details of their clothing, she assumes that the reason why the Korean woman gives the seat to her is because of her clothing, since it is by no means “a genteel style.”²⁸⁵ Her lower social class, she surmises, is further reason for them to give her a kind gesture. She is a low-level government officer who receives a monthly salary, and he does not want a working-class friend.²⁸⁶ She explicitly expresses the social rank of people by class in accordance with colonial rule:

If he [the Korean man] is higher than workers, he can then manage them. High-class people do not want to keep company with low-class people. If they are even higher, it is still not all right; he [the Korean man] looks down on two [Japanese] ladies who put on heavy make-up and are well dressed just now. Although these ladies’ Japanese coats can by no means be more valuable than mine, their social status is far above his, so he finds me [as a foreigner] like someone who wears a worn-out coat but has no money to buy a new one.²⁸⁷

²⁸⁴Zhang, *Xunzhao Mei Niang*, 181-182.

²⁸⁵The word *shenshi* literally means gentry in Chinese. Even in Japanese, its meaning is the same. The use of this word is debatable because Mei was educated to be independent like a man, particularly in the relationship between masculinity and femininity in her feminism.

²⁸⁶Mei’s revised version of this story was published in *Xunzhao Mei Niang*, pages 261-266. She revised it greatly, so comparison of the two texts itself merits further study. For instance, the Chinese narrator’s occupation has been changed from a low-level officer of the government to *huazu xiaojie*, an overseas Chinese lady who studies at *huazu xuefu*, an overseas Chinese school. Zhang, *Xunzhao Mei Niang*, 262. In a sense, her social status has been lowered in the revised version, setting out the Chinese narrator’s more vulnerable status with regard to the Korean man and woman. I will point out other key changes in the body or in footnotes when necessary to my argument. The narrator’s categorization of a government official as working class does not sound correct in a strict sense unless she is from a working-class family or she defines and identifies herself as such, since the nature of work in government is not manual labor.

²⁸⁷*Ibid.*, 182.

Paying heedful attention to the Koreans' looks, the Chinese narrator also attempts to create an impression on them by offering a different standard of a 'better,' modern style through her watch, and also, a logic of hygiene; her clothing is cleaner than theirs. (181) Moreover, the Korean man's posture, for instance, "putting his hands on the top of his thighs with one of his hands over the other," becomes an object of mockery by comparing it to the Japanese: It looks "like Japanese women who most care about manners." (182) At the same time, however, in Japan, a country of islands, according to the narrator, a Japanese male coast watcher never discriminated against her on the grounds that she is a foreigner. (180)

The Chinese narrator's attitude toward the Japanese is double-edged. On the one hand, the Japanese are situated at the top of the racial and social hierarchy which is reflected in the realm of fashion. In this, the Korean man's bodily posture, which is not necessarily tied to either characteristics of gender or nationality, is directly related to a Japanese one. Thus, what the Chinese narrator considers the Korean man's 'acquired, advanced' manners is the colonized's way of claiming and emulating the colonizer's 'authentic,' proper behavioral norms.²⁸⁸ However, in my view, this act cannot be recognized and accepted by other Chinese colonial subjects, for their countries' boundaries of race and nation should be maintained, thus preventing Koreans from looking like the Japanese. On the other hand, the Japanese are identified by the Chinese narrator as generous colonizers without contempt for or discrimination against the Chinese. However, here, a Korean subject differentiates a Japanese subject from a Chinese subject, against whom the Japanese never discriminated,

²⁸⁸The dirtiness of the Korean man's dress is even more emphasized in the revised version. The Chinese narrator immediately connects his style and this fact with his desire for upward social mobility and describes it as follows: "[t]his is certainly a man who attempts to climb up an upward social ladder and thus is called a *dog* [italics added] by ordinary people." Zhang, *Xunzhao Mei Niang*, 264. Moreover, the Chinese narrator makes a comment on the Korean man's way of placing hands: "[h]e still did not emulate perfectly; Japanese men are by no means like this, [and] this is a typical manner of descendents of the aristocracy." Ibid., 264. This passage can be reviewed in terms of Bhabha's concept of colonial mimicry.

demonstrating that the colonized create a constant configuration of other people according to their own order. Despite the fact that the order mapped out by colonized subjects is in fact based upon that which the colonizer has built, the role of the colonizer is neutralized because they treat subjugated people equally. Seen from another perspective, the description of the Japanese's equal treatment of Chinese people in the text means that an individual's social relationships, at least on a personal level, can be separated from the existing colonial order. Mei also mentioned that the Japanese held relative respect for high-class women from Manchukuo.²⁸⁹ This is a clear example of how colonial order is always contingent upon class. However, what is at stake here is that Japanese styles of fashion and bodily posture became a critical standard for evaluating the colonized's style and giving its meaning. Thus, the order of colonial rule is reaffirmed and naturalized in the domain of fashion, thereby revealing the complicated and interdependent nature of colonial order and imperial desire. The colonial order can be produced and reproduced by colonizers in their own mode of representation and racial thinking at any moment of racial encounter in daily life. At the same time, the colonial order needs a modern, metropolitan measure to configure and judge the other's style in accordance with the structure of racial hierarchy. The revised version of the story offers more specific evidence of the same line of racial thinking which further verifies this point. In this version, the Chinese narrator surmises that "[a]pparently, the Korean man is still not modernized to the extent that he knows 'ladies first.'"²⁹⁰ Therefore, the colonized's desire for hegemony in the domain of fashion, a feeling of superiority, is only possible by silencing the voices of the Other, the objectification of another colonized, so that the intrinsic significance of racialized gazes is none other than a reproduction of a colonial order, which is defined and supported by the metropolitan, imperial standard of style and manners.

²⁸⁹My interview with Mei, on August 22, 2007.

²⁹⁰Zhang, *Xunzhao Mei Niang*, 263.

In addition, I do not mean to stress that this way of imperial desire²⁹¹ is present exclusively in the Chinese representations of Koreans, but silenced Korean others may have a logic similar or identical to that of the Chinese narrator and may look askance at the Chinese. However, the hospitality of the Korean man, whose actual intention and meaning are unknown, is overplayed by the Chinese narrator and is even dilated to the degree that she asserts the Japanese style to subjugate the Korean style in terms of fashion and manners. In this regard, it is worthwhile to reflect upon Smith's assessment of Mei's literary career as a feminist writer and her resistance to Manchukuo and Japanese colonialism. At first sight, the work appears to destabilize the policy of racial harmony of the five races, in the sense that racial cleavage and antagonism are expressed by reiterating the Chinese narrator's uneasy feelings and inward discomfort caused by the Koreans' discriminating gaze, which is in fact something she assumes. Mei specifically stated that the state policy of the harmony of the five races was an ideology of making humans into slaves and thus her work directly opposed it by not extolling Japan.²⁹² However, as shown above, Mei's feministic vision is founded upon an ethnic categorization of the colonized in which a Korean female newcomer is differentiated from the Japanese and Chinese, turning a visible subject into an object of observation for evaluating national style and its meaning. Furthermore, in Mei's revised version of the story, the narrator explicitly states Korean woman's social status and the nature of migration. "There are by no means small numbers of Koreans here; after the shortage for the labor force in *bentu*, the native land (or the country proper), some Korean *shumin*, commoners, moved

²⁹¹The Chinese narrator expresses her desire to identify with Japan proper and its fashion, revealing her covert or overt recognition of imperial structure. However, imperial desire is also overlapping with colonial desire in the sense that she also exposes her desire to be superior to the Korean couple in terms of hygienic modernity and use of products like the watch, which symbolizes her higher class and the reception of modernity. Her racialized gaze and her way of colonizing the other colonized were possible through the symbolic power of the imperial. Thus, a colonial subject can have both an imperial and colonial desire. I also use the term colonial desire, depending on specific contexts.

²⁹²My interview with Mei, on August 22, 2007.

here, perhaps because it is convenient.”²⁹³ *Bentu* here can simply refer to this land or country, but I have translated it as “the native land” to highlight the Chinese narrator’s social, racial hierarchical consciousness and her inner desire to identify herself with the metropolis, to make it her native land, which certainly does not mean a territory-bound, physical native land in this context.

The objectification of others and the malleability of their silence lie at the heart of imperial desire in the metropolitan, imperial way of reasoning in Mei’s literary writing. Thus, Mei Niang’s feminist writing and resistance to Japanese imperialism function like two sides of the same coin in that the former can be expressed and reified through the metropolitan’s yardstick of style and fashion by voicing the silenced, visible Other in her own mode of representations of the colonized. Seen from this viewpoint, at a deeper level, the essence of her creative writing does not lie in the advocacy of feminism nor in resisting Manchukuo and Japanese imperialism, but rather in exploring how imperial and colonial desires can be sensed and produced at any moment in daily racial encounters with visible yet mute, powerless others, who are in fact arbitrarily identified and categorized on the basis of the colonial order and criteria for constructing a more sophisticated, racialized national style through adulation and elevation of modern Japanese imperial style to the paragon of fashion.

²⁹³Zhang, *Xunzhao Mei Niang*, 263. The Chinese narrator’s tie to China and Chinese is much more emphasized in the revised text. For example, she defines herself as *huazu* and attends at an overseas Chinese school. In addition, there is the other, presumably Chinese, female passenger with a baby on her back, who asks the narrator to put a stitch in her handkerchief on an express electric train. After hesitating, the narrator decides to do so, especially for the next generation, because peace is a necessity. Ibid., 262. She assumes that the woman recognizes her racial status through her school skirt and a hand sack with the imprinted seal of the school on it. Thus, she is inspired by the baby, who represents Chinese people as well as the future generation. Ibid., 262.

(Un) Making Boundaries: Heteroglossia, ‘Origin,’ and Imitation in Imamura Eiji’s “Dōkōsha”

Imamura Eiji’s “Dōkōsha” (A Companion) was first published in *Aichimata* (A Narrow Street), whose publication date is unknown. Afterwards, it appeared in *Manshū gyōsei* (Manchurian Administration) and *Manshū roman* (Manchurian Roman) in June and November 1938, respectively and was then included in *Manshū bungei nenkan* (Manchurian Almanac of Literature and Art) in 1939.²⁹⁴ Imamura was the one of the leading writers from Manchukuo. He was ethnically considered Korean but wrote novels in Japanese, though his biographical information is rather vague. According to the *Manchurian Almanac of Literature and Art* of 1939, Imamura was the representative of book authors as a member of the Manchurian Association of Literature and Speech, and he lived in Changchun, the capital of Manchukuo at the time.²⁹⁵ I will introduce the major story lines and then go over his biographical information in connection with the existing scholarship on this story.

Synopsis

“It would be better if it [The Manchurian Incident] were to break out sooner.”(301) This is the opening remark of the story, though the editorial notes by the author precede the text, and this sentence is repeated a few times in the narrative. The

²⁹⁴Kim Jang Sŏn, *Wimanjuguk sigi chosŏn inmunhak gwa jungguk inmunhak pigyo yŏn’gu* (A comparative research on Chinese and Korean humanities during the Manchukuo period) (Seoul: Yeoklak, 2004), 202. Okada Hideki, *Wei manzhouguo wen xue* (Literature of Manchukuo), trans. Jin Conglin (Changchun: Jilin daxue chubanshe, 2001), 291. Saegusa Toshikatsu, *Hanguk kŭndae munhak gwa Ilbon* (Modern Korean literature and Japan), trans. Shim Wŏn Sŏp (Seoul: Somyŏng ch’ulp’an, 2003), 516. This book was written both in Japanese and Korean, but his essay on “Dōkōsha” was written in Korean.

Imamura Eiji, “Dōkōsha” (A companion), *Manshū bungei nenkan* (Manchurian almanac of literature and art) (Fengtian [Shenyang]: Manmō hyōronsha, 1939), 292-303. This work has been translated by Chae Hun from Japanese into Korean. Chae Hun, *Ilje kangjŏmgi chaeman hanguk munhak yŏn’gu* (A Study of the Korean Literature of Manchuria during the Japanese occupation) (Seoul: Kip’ūnsaem, 1990), 301-318. The latter is used as the text here, but I also confer with the original Japanese version when necessary.

²⁹⁵From the copyright page and an index of writers of *Manshū bungei nenkan* (Manchurian almanac of literature and art) (Fengtian [Shenyang]: Manmō hyōronsha, 1939).

story depicts a Korean man, called Shin Jung Hŭm, whose racial and national identity ambiguously straddles Japanese and Korean, and his encounters with a Japanese elderly male farmer who looks for a Korean traveling companion for security reasons as he returns to his home in a remote, rural area in Manchuria. Overly irritated by his financial problems, as well as by the currently unstable geopolitical situation which is strained to the breaking point, the Korean man ends ten years of city life in Dalian and joins the Japanese farmer on a trip to his brother's place to be a farmer in a rural area. Before his departure, Shin stays in a squalid inn run by Koreans, who taunt him because he appears to be Japanese, a scene which foregrounds an imminent peril ahead. In order to evade any possible hazard or attack from Korean bandits, or *hutei senjin*,²⁹⁶ pursuers who particularly materialize in sequestered places, the Japanese man wears Korean clothing to disguise himself as a Korean, and the Korean man wears Chinese clothing to conceal his Korean heritage.²⁹⁷ The Japanese man takes some bills out of his purse and gives them to his companion, asking Shin not to disclose his true Japanese identity by instead introducing him as Shin's mute brother or uncle to the Korean bandits if they show up. But Shin does not accept the money

²⁹⁶This word was defined by Japanese during the colonial period to refer to dissident, subversive Koreans. However, its actual denotation covers a wide range from armed, anti-Japanese revolutionaries to bandits or Robin Hoods who assisted poor, immigrant Koreans. Im Chong Kuk lists names used by Japanese for illegal armed groups: the Korean army fighting for Korea's independence was called *sŏnbi*, communist guerrillas were *kongbi*, and native, local masses engaged in the anti-Japanese movement were *tobi*. Despite these different names, *bijŏk* was a generic term for all these people. Im Chong Kuk, *Sillok ch'inilp'a* (A true record of pro-Japanese groups) (Seoul: Tolpegae, 1991), 6.

Ono Keiichi from the Foreign Affairs of the Fengtian (Shenyang) Police Agency clearly defines *hutei senjin* as Koreans who engaged in the anti-Japan movement for their independence. "Pimin bunli kongjak juhyo" (The efficacy of working to segregate bandits from nationals), *Chaeman chosŏnin t'ongsin* (News from Koreans in Manchuria), 7 (1936): 9.

²⁹⁷Koreans in Manchuria themselves did not want to wear Korean clothing but preferred to wear western styles. Except for the Kando (Jiandao) Region, they felt ashamed when they went out in Korean clothing, since Koreans were associated in the Chinese headlines of newspapers with negative activities such as usury, trafficking, gambling, and killing Chinese. Thus, they feared that they would be reproached and discriminated against by other people if they wore Korean clothing, exposing their identity. Yoon Hwytak, "<Manjuguk> idŭng kong(kuk)min: kŭ silsang kwa hŏsang" (The second-class nationals/citizens: reality and false images), *Yŏksahakpo* (*The Korean Historical Review*, translation in the original text), 169 (March 2001): 166-167.

and warns him that he should not consider humans thoughtlessly. Despite their mutual common interest for survival among utter disorder and confusion, a feeling of discomfort arises when each looks at the other man's imitation of his national style; both manifest a lack of authenticity in their expressions of appearance, manners, and language. This subtle yet confrontational mood reaches a climax when four or five young men, who had concealed themselves behind willow trees, appear and block the road in the middle of a wood, and their number suddenly increases to eight. Just before they appear, the Japanese man is abruptly suspicious about the Korean man's real status and identifies him as a Korean bandit. Thus, taking out a hidden gun, the elderly Japanese man levels it at his Korean companion. After the emergence of the bandits and besieged by two enemies, the Korean man has to choose and clarify his racial and national identity at this critical moment in his life, although he is not sure why the Japanese man suspected him. He first overcomes the Japanese man and takes the gun away from him, and then yells: "[d]on't move and stay put, otherwise I will shoot you first." (318) The scene ends as follows: "Shin Jung Hŭm wipes running tears with the back of his hand and then stares at the faces of the eight men [Korean bandits] who are approaching while he is pointing the gun at him [the Japanese companion]." (318)

Imamura's Literary Career and Literature Review on "Dōkōsha"

Kim Jang Sŏn, a Korean Chinese scholar, has collected some materials on Imamura and his writings that were published in newspapers and journals and has traced his creative writing and literary career. Imamura was born in Colonial Korea in 1911, but his actual name and life before he came to Manchuria have been barely discoverable even to the present time. His literary achievement was compared to that of Cho Kakuchū, so he was called the Cho Kakuchū of Manchukuo. But he led an economically uncertain life and was impoverished to the degree that he wrote

manuscripts with a candle in a small warehouse, an overt indication of his lack of material resources. Kim notes that Imamura dealt with love and romance and criticized women's pursuit of beauty and materiality before he wrote "Dōkōsha." Japanese literary critics and writers paid much attention to this work upon its publication and started to acclaim him as a representative of Korean writers in Manchukuo. He was selected by the government to travel as part of a government-sponsored tour to local areas and travelled all over Manchukuo through their patronage. After these trips, he was forced to create four or five literary works exalting state policies, such as the establishment of a paradise of the Kingly Way and enlistment in the army of Manchukuo, and then he put down his pen. Kim has reasoned that his discontinuation of creative writing derived from a deep clash between his idealism as a writer who represented Koreans' reality and the details of their lives, and his historical reality, which placed severe restrictions upon his freedom of expression. His works were valued in Japanese literary circles in Manchukuo, but this caused him to reflect seriously upon his self-identity and his position as a Korean. This led him to distance himself from state-centered literature in an attempt to maintain his Korean national consciousness. Kim has argued that this was the main reason for abandoning his creative writing.²⁹⁸ However, Kim has overlooked the idea that the processes of becoming are more important than the actual state of being. Thus, this speculation has its own fallacy because it is based upon the premise that 'Koreanness' was already given and fixed. In fact, Kim lacks further evidence from the traces of Imamura's biography to prove his actual reason for giving up his writing.

An early Japanese literary criticism of "Dōkōsha" is found in Aoki Minoru's brief introduction to the story, published in *Manshū bunkei nenkan* of 1939. He notes that this work expresses a man's feeling of anguish at being caught between two deep

²⁹⁸Kim Jang Sŏn, *Comparative Research on Chinese and Korean Humanities during the Manchukuo Period*, 191-218.

and insuperable barriers, his Japanese and Korean identities. The man has striven to become Japanese but has lost his livelihood through situations beyond his control. Imamura was able to write this work largely because of the historical situation which produced more such people within the historical context of the transformations of states and the movement of peoples that occurred in the East (*tōyō*).²⁹⁹ In his analysis, Saegusa, like Aoki, also draws attention to deep gaps between the protagonist's Japanese and Korean identities. He argues that one gap originates from his national origin, thus Shin cannot discard or remove it. "The other gap is from a long history of Korea and the ruin of the country, and he is not able return to the previous world by surpassing the gap. Shin's agony and his ontological struggle result from history, that is, a conflict between modernization and colonization."³⁰⁰ Kawamura Minato, in his view, mainly outlines the plot of the story, but he also focuses on the strife between Shin and the bandits, who stem from the same national origin and locality. The author pays particular attention to the inner struggles of the Koreans in the story and then draws a parallel with the future contention between Park Chung Hee (1917-1979), former president of South Korea, and Kim Il Sung (1912-1994), former head of North Korea, whose regimes both originated in this region with their pro- or anti-Japanese activities during the colonial period.³⁰¹ However, Kawamura's lines of explanation are certainly confined to the Korean side of the story, without reference to the Japanese and other nationalities in the story, so it cannot account for the meaning of clothing in presenting disguised identities or the Korean man's inner struggle to locate his identity among Chinese, Japanese, and Koreans. Moreover, this story was published in 1938, right after the complete abolition of extraterritoriality rights in 1937, which revoked Koreans' previous legal status as Japanese imperial subjects. This historical

²⁹⁹ Aoki Minoru, "Shōsetsu gaikan" (An outline of [this year's] fiction), *Manshū bungei nenkan* (*Manchurian almanac of literature and art*) (Fengtian[Shenyang]: Manmō hyōronsha, 1939), 10.

³⁰⁰ Saegusa, *Modern Korean Literature and Japan*, 519.

³⁰¹ Minato, *Bungaku kara miru Manshū gozoku kyōwa no yume to genjitsu*, 138-139.

background is also germane to the interpretation of the text. In the following discussion, I explore how Manchukuo and the Government General of Korea competed with each other to define Koreans' racial and national status in Manchuria. I address the discourse of clothing and its relation to the formation of imperial subjects and a discourse of Korea and Japan as one body as conceptualized in *Chaeman chosŏnin t'ongsin* (News from Koreans in Manchuria). I locate the text in these specific and complex historical contexts, while reading it with a focus on clothing and fashion and their relation to the (un)making of racial and national boundaries, 'origins,' and 'truth' claims in understanding the character's split identity.

Clothing, the Discourse of Japan and Korea as One Body and of Manchukuo and Korea as One Body

This section first addresses Koreans' racial and national status as defined by Manchukuo and the Government General of Korea (T.G.G.K.) before and after the abolition of extraterritoriality rights in 1937, as well as the discourse of clothing, one of the ways of realizing discourses of Japan and Colonial Korea as one body and Manchukuo and Korea as one body, as discussed by Koreans in *Chaeman chosŏnin t'ongsin* (News from Koreans in Manchuria), which was published in Fengtian, Shenyang, from 1936 to 1939.³⁰² Koreans' ambiguous, dual status as Japanese imperial subjects and nationals of Manchukuo clearly shows how two competing powers strived to categorize and regulate people strategically in their governance of Manchukuo and Korea for their own interests and hegemony. Controlling Koreans

³⁰²Hŭnga hyŏp'oe (Association of prospering Asia) was established in Fengtian (Shenyang) in the spring of 1936 as a division attached to the counterintelligence corps. Its headquarters were in Fengtian and branches were located throughout Manchukuo. Its mission was to guide Koreans' ideology, that is, to engage in a variety of special duties to disturb and destroy thoughts of anti-colonialism and independence. Im Chong Kuk, *A True Record of Pro-Japanese Groups*, 114.

Given that the Kwantung Army functioned as a quasi government, the role of the army would be very similar, and thus the nature of the journal and its overall orientation are quite evident. It can be said that it was a governmental journal for propaganda. Hereafter *T'ongsin*.

was directly connected to the two governments' rivalry for (re)locating people to become their national subjects, revealing the discursive and complex dimensions of exerting colonial bureaucratic power. Moreover, at the same time, governmental organizations and cultural agents also actively participated in this mapping to further their pressing agendas. In doing so, literary works like "Dōkōsha" were published, cogently touching upon the existential conflicts between self and national identities and the protagonist's in-betweenness or the multiplicity of his positionality in the turbulent vortex of war and colonization.

Japan abolished part of its extraterritoriality rights of Manchukuo in 1936 and turned over the administrative rights of the regions attached to the Manchurian Railway to the state in 1937.³⁰³ However, the Japanese retained the administration of education, military affairs, and shrines, which were related directly to the foundation of Japanese spirit and military affairs.³⁰⁴ This meant that Koreans in Manchukuo were no longer Japanese imperial subjects of Colonial Korea and their 'formal,' privileged status as Japanese was no longer guaranteed.³⁰⁵ Thus, it is natural to assume that Koreans became national subjects of Manchukuo in principle, severing any legal and national ties to Colonial Korea. However, even after this, a preface of *T'ongsin* entitled the "Significance of the Abolition of Extraterritoriality Rights and Koreans" in 1937 still defined Koreans as Japanese, particularly with regard to the issue of taxation. The gist of the preface is that a new tax would be applied to Koreans;

³⁰³Tanaka Ryūichi, "Tairitsu to tōgō no senman kankei: 'naisen ittai' 'gozoku kyōwa' 'senman ichinyō'" (Confrontation and Integration of the relationship between Korea and Manchukuo: Japan and Korea as one body, harmony of the "five races," and Korea and Manchukuo as one body), *Hisutoria* (History), 152 (September 1996): 112.

³⁰⁴It seems that the time of the abolition is controversial. Hyun Ok Park has argued that "[t]he elimination of the extraterritoriality of 'Japanese' in 1935 was intended to unify the administration in Manchuria." Park, *Two Dreams in One Bed: Empire*, 137. However, Tanaka Ryūichi and other scholars have argued differently, as I have quoted in the body. The article on this issue published in *T'ongsin* in 1937 is further evidence to demonstrate the exact time of the abolition.

³⁰⁵Shin Kyu Sōp, "Manjuguk ūi Ch'ioe pōpkwōn ch'ōlp'ye wa jaeman chosōnin e taehan insik" (The abolition of extraterritoriality rights and perceptions of Koreans in Manchuria) in *Taedong munhwa yōn'gu* (The Journal of Eastern Studies, translation in the original text) 43 (September 2003): 72.

however, in the new system, tax rates would be mitigated. Koreans should know that they would receive preferential treatment, compared to other people of Manchukuo, so that they should make sure to enroll in the family registration system to enjoy the full benefits of life as Japanese.³⁰⁶ However, according to Shin Kyu Söp, the Japanese and Koreans were technically exempt from taxation before the abolition of extraterritoriality rights; in reality, taxes were imposed upon Koreans because of the Chinese strong revolt against them, and only the Japanese were truly exempt during this time. After this, Manchukuo reduced taxes for the Japanese, but the Koreans were not treated as equal to Japanese, so Manchukuo had Koreans pay taxes to maintain a tax preference for Japanese.³⁰⁷ In view of this historical reality, the preface above can be seen as political propaganda and the continual mobilization of a discourse of Japan and Korea as one body in Manchukuo.

Aside from this advertisement confirming Koreans' national status as Japanese in Manchukuo, the Korean colonial government in fact expressed no consistent messages as to their status in *T'ongsin*. Minami Jirō, Head of the Government General of Korea, visited Turmen and some places in Kando (Jiandao) and met with Ueda, a plenipotentiary consular of Manchukuo, to discuss the governmental measure for achieving *senman ichinyō*, that is, Korea and Manchukuo as one body, in 1936.³⁰⁸ After this meeting, Kanbara, Secretary of the T.G.G.K., further announced that "there is no doubt that scores of thousands of Koreans in Manchukuo are important components of the state."³⁰⁹ This prefaced an announcement which situated Koreans in Manchuria in relation to Colonial Korea and Manchukuo in June, 1936, stating that Korean farmers living in Manchukuo were nationals of Manchukuo as long as they

³⁰⁶ *T'ongsin*, 6 (1936): 1.

³⁰⁷ Shin, "The Abolition of Extraterritoriality Rights and Perceptions of Koreans in Manchuria," 80.

³⁰⁸ *T'ongsin*, 17 (1936): 25-27.

³⁰⁹ *T'ongsin*, 17 (1936): 26.

cultivated land and that they were also Japanese imperial subjects.³¹⁰ However, in 1939, Minami, Head of the Government General of Korea, exclusively defined Japanese imperial subjects as follows: “Manchus, Mongolians, Han, and White Russians are not Japanese imperial subjects but are Manchukuo’s imperial subjects. Japanese and Koreans are *not* [italics added] Manchukuo’s imperial subjects; even if they work and live in Manchukuo, they are not Manchukuo’s people. In this way, the fundamental meaning and objective of Japan and Korea as one body is established.”³¹¹

Kim Yŏng Sam particularly deals with how Koreans assumed their pivotal roles in realizing Japan and Korea in *T’ongsin*; he addresses the meaning of *naisen ittai*, Japan and Korea as one body, its content, the ways of achieving it, and Koreans’ significance in relation to other races in Manchukuo. First, he argues that the true meaning of Japan and Korea as one body lies in its spirit, not in its form; but this does not imply one ethnic group’s assimilation into the other one, but rather the retention and maintenance of each ethnic group’s characteristics.³¹² Second, he emphasizes the role of Koreans in attaining the goal of racial harmony. The accomplishment of Japan and Korea as one body was particularly important to convince the Han, Manchus, and Mongolians, since they were skeptical about the practice of the one body. Therefore, the completion of the one body of Japan and Korea is a gleam of success of racial harmony. Koreans should become a model for this movement.³¹³ “*Naisen ittai*, Japan and Korea as one body, is the maximization of the racial harmony.”³¹⁴ The first stage of the harmony between Japan and Korea is already past, so it is time to enter the next

³¹⁰Editorial office, “Chosŏn nongminŭro manjuguke sallŏ karyŏmyŏn alaya hal kŏt” (Things that farmers ought to know when migrating to Manchukuo), *Nongmin saenghwal* (Farmers’s life), 11.5 (June 1936): 36.

³¹¹Tanaka Ryūichi, “Nittei no Manshūkoku tōchi to zaiman kanjin mondai” (Japanese Imperial Rule on the Manchukuo and the Issue of Korean Immigrants in Manchukuo, translation in the original text), *Manju yŏn’gu* (Journal of Manchurian Studies, translation in the original text) 1 (2004): 99.

³¹²Kim Yŏng Sam, “Naesŏn ilch’e ŭi chinsil kyumyŏng” (Examination of the truth of Japan and Korea as one body), *T’ongsin* 51&52 (1938): 28-30.

³¹³Kim Yŏng Sam, “Naesŏn ilch’e minjok hyŏp’wa” (Japan and Korea as one body and racial harmony) *T’ongsin*, 61 (February 1939):7.

³¹⁴*Ibid.*, 8.

stage of oneness, which is centered around the Japanese by recognizing their leading role.³¹⁵

Kim's idea as to how to achieve *naisen ittai*, Japan and Korea as one body, reveals how colonial ideology competed with itself by subordinating racial harmony under the rubric of the one body of Japan and Korea while affirming the centrality of Japanese in the racial formation. Nonetheless, Kim developed and presented an important idea about how to forge a unified, Japanese imperial subjectivity in form and content. Unsurprisingly, the content, its ultimate intent, is filled by Japanese spirit, serving as a megaphone for inculcating colonized subjects with the state-centered ideology of the ruling power. Despite this limitation, his discussion of the discourse of *naisen ittai* contains a moment which erases racial difference in the form of clothing and footwear, denying a cultural source to define racial and national boundaries and identity, which is at odds with Chinese and Korean writers' use of these symbols to forge a national identity.³¹⁶ Kim clearly puts forth an idea about the relationship between form and spirit and maintains it as follows:

The problem of Japan and Korea as one body lies in its spirit, not in its form. In addition, spirit can create form, however, form cannot produce spirit. Wearing *wahuku* and *geta*, traditional Japanese clothing and shoes, does not mean becoming *naichijin*, Japanese in a day. Wearing traditional Korean clothing and straw sandals does not mean that he/she is anti-national or is qualified to be a Japanese imperial subject. Even if one adorns oneself with outfits in appearance but does not grasp the Japanese spirit, he/she cannot be considered to be imperial subjects. . . .³¹⁷

To be sure, comprehending the Japanese spirit is all the more important than putting on national clothing and footwear. The former is the content and the latter is the form, and the form is absolutely pointless unless it is accompanied by the spirit. In

³¹⁵Ibid, 8.

³¹⁶Kim Yŏng Sam, "Naesŏn ilch'e ŭi chinsil kyumyŏng" (Examination of the truth of Japan and Korea as one body), *T'ongsin*, 51& 52 (1938): 31.

³¹⁷Ibid., 31.

Kim's formulation of spirit and form, form does not generate any meaning without spirit, which is hardly demonstrated at a deeper level when it comes to style in actual, daily performance. Kim's rejection of form is subversive in that an individual's style and its associated national characteristics do not truly represent the individual's being; spirit is the final factor to determine racial and national identity. National style, the form, can acquire its meaning only when it is accompanied by Japanese spirit. To be sure, learning the underlying significance of spirit by experience is an essential prerequisite for transforming the colonized into imperial subjects; however, in Kim's formulation, except for the key role of spirit in the process of realizing the one body of Japan and Korea, style and form display an individual's external outlook without any significance to claims about one's national 'origins.' This view sounds like a one-dimensional understanding of form and content, and the author's adherence to their rigid dichotomy risks internalization and reproducing colonial ideology. However, it is worthwhile to note that an individual's existential significance is not completely determined by style but is further identified by spirit, the content. Imamura's work particularly problematizes the intricate correlation between style and 'truth' claims and acutely captures the nodal points where racial and national borderlines are demarcated and at the same time unsettled.

(Un) Making Boundaries: Heteroglossia, 'Origin,' and Imitation in "Dōkōsha"

"It would be better if it [the Manchurian Incident] were to break out sooner."
 (301) The opening remark of the story is often repeated in the story and plays a key role in developing the narrative. Shin, the protagonist, mumbles the phrase a few times in the text, and the narrator adds a note to explain Shin's state of mind, "as if Shin Jung Hūm cannot control his feeling of anxiety." (301) A slightly abbreviated version of this monologue is reiterated twice in the story as "break out as quickly as possible."

(302) Moreover, the narrator keeps on emphasizing the fact that this feeling of apprehension stems from Shin's personal, oppressed status, not from the current, geopolitical confrontation of Sino-Japanese relations, since he has no time or energy to be concerned with volatile sociopolitical issues. Specifically, the narrator comments on why Shin has such a feeling of insecurity: this feeling is "just like a psychological state in which one wishes to see a big fire set nearby when one is extremely irritated or gets bored," (302) since it is a spectacle that can temporarily throw him out of the doldrums. The repetition of this phrase conveys the protagonist's personally deadlocked situation and underpins his misgivings about his unpredictable and precarious future, a projection of himself teetering on the brink of war and abyss. Thus, it also serves as a subplot of the main plot and foregrounds an upcoming event in the story. The frequent employment of particular phrases produces diverse effects in the development of narrative. In one respect, the insistent editorial remark that Shin's insecure feelings bear no relation to any historical exigency does precisely the opposite of the surface meaning of the remark; it further emphasizes the fact that Shin's future destiny will, conversely, become entangled with the current geopolitical instability. Shin's statements involve what Bakhtin called heteroglossia, a double-voiced discourse. He notes that it is "another's speech in another's language, serving to express authorial intention but in a refracted way. Such speech constitutes a special type of *double-voiced discourse* [italics in the original text]. It serves two speakers at the same time and expresses simultaneously two different intentions: the direct intention of the character who is speaking, and the refracted intention of the author."³¹⁸ "Double-voiced discourse is always internally dialogized. Examples of this would be

³¹⁸Mikhail M. Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination*, trans. Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981), 324.

comic, ironic, or parodic discourse, the refracting discourse of a narrator, [and] refracting discourse in the language of a character.”³¹⁹

Shin’s speech is also internally bifurcated and inscribes a potential dialogue within it.³²⁰ His utterances convey more than their obvious meanings; thus a gap between what is narrated and what is meant in the discourse is presented in a refracted way. As a matter of fact, the current geopolitical exigency is one of the root causes of Shin’s life crisis and the travail of his soul. However, the speaker himself strongly denies this point, though his personal and social life is entirely controlled by immeasurable and irresistible forces of the outer world. Shin seemingly holds himself aloof and detached from the critical juncture of the current upheaval, in which a war is imminent at any moment. Apparently, his rejection of personal interest in this chaotic situation and conscious attempt to divert his attention to personal matters make the gravity of the future event, while emphasizing an inseparable tie between his destiny and historical exigency, internally ironizing. In other words, Shin’s deliberate, impassive indifference to politics conversely suggests a hazardous life that is under the control of the very sociopolitical forces he denies, direct sources of his excruciating inner agony, stemming from between being and becoming and uncertain, fluctuating selfhood and its closure and fixation by external social forces. Thus, this self-contradictory aspect of the narrative and its unsettling signification, teetering between insouciant yet conscious indifference to historical incidents and profound awareness of the draconian, undulating reality, bring inner tension to the character’s psychological struggle to situate his social and national identity as well as to the development of the plot.

At another level, Shin’s apathy to politics and his desire for the outbreak of war can be seen as psychological compensation, a way of relieving his nervousness

³¹⁹Ibid., 324.

³²⁰Ibid., 324-325.

about his bleak future. In this regard, Joan Copjec's discussion of the effect of repetition in film is also relevant to understanding the psychological significance of Shin's repetitive monologue. She argues that repetition has the effect of purification by virtue of identification. It renders differences and contradictions the same by internalizing them and converting "contradictions into 'metaphysical pitch and toss,' that is, into an idealized movement itself whereby pitch is absorbed by toss, hurly by burly fort by da, death by life and body and soul and so on and so forth."³²¹ It eventually generates *heimlich* (a homely, familiar feeling) and provides "a source of pleasure."³²² Shin also goes through this repetition, a process of re-experiencing the same or similar things.³²³ Shin seems to seek ephemeral comfort, "a source of pleasure," by pretending to be unaware of historical reality, though in fact he is already fully and deeply aware of the existing predicament and the inevitable confrontation between the reality and having no race or nation to belong to. The apparent concealment of the interrelation between the personal and the social, in turn, further reveals the latter's direct and crucial impact upon Shin's ambiguous national status. On the one hand, Shin's speech can be seen as a projection of a future event, the war or the confrontation with the Korean bandits, who are, in fact, of the same national 'origin' yet who nonetheless put his life in jeopardy. On the other hand, the repetition of his fear functions as a mental safety valve to ward off the inevitability of the future as well as the present precarious situation. As a result, a familiar feeling is produced and retained through the working of this self-defensive psychology, and he can hold his ambiguous positionality or multiplicity in the process of reiteration,

³²¹ Joan Copjec, "India Song/Son nom de Venise dans Cakcutta desert: The Compulsion to Repeat," in *Feminism and Film Theory*, ed. Constance Penley (Washington and New York: American Film Institute and Routledge, 1988), 233. I thank Professor Gunn for introducing this article.

³²² Ibid.

³²³ Ibid.

which is otherwise clarified and defined by others for closure and fixation of plurality in identity formation.

At the same time, however, Shin's relocation to a remote, rural area where his brother lives is identified with Korean and Chinese's primitive and savage status. Shin cannot speak Korean as freely and fluently as he speaks Japanese. "Although he does not dislike the Korean language very much, for some reason, he feels awkward and that language and tongue play separately, as if he spoke a foreign language. Certainly, he detests Korean customs." (304) Shin imagines that a farmer's life in a rural area will deprive him of chances to speak and see Japanese. Furthermore, the place where he will live will be shabby and dirty, without even a Korean straw carpet like the ones in the inn where he is staying. Shin presumes that "he would have no confidence to endure such a primitive and barbaric life" as someone engaged in farm labor. (304) The narrator comments, "Born Korean, [Shin] has still made the utmost effort to become Japanese to the degree that he disliked Korean customs and habits and even forgot the language. However, it is he who has not been accepted by either side and has been separated by both sides and is then expelled to a remote place of *uncivilized Manchuria* [italics added]." (306) Shin also considers his trip to his brother's place as "a regression into primitiveness." (308) Shin's racial thinking directly derives from his concepts of modernity, hygiene, and civilization, but does not carry specific racialized values of physicality attached to the bodies of the peoples. The space of Manchuria as a whole is polarized into city and country; the city is divided into a modern place where Japanese live and Shin has led a modern, civilized life, and less couth places like the shoddy, uncivilized Korean inn where Shin temporarily stays. Thus, time and space are ordered and racially perceived according to the logic of modernity and civilization. Much like the primitive space of Manchuria, in this configuration, Chinese and Koreans are equally categorized as uncivilized races, and Japanese are a

‘modern’ race. Despite the fact that the Japanese man, Shin’s companion, is a farmer, Shin’s irritation lessens, and he decides to travel with him simply because he is Japanese. (305) Being Japanese is an unqualified emblem of civilization which gives Shin a feeling of comfort and security, and thus the space where Japanese stay, whether in city or country, and their occupations are exempt from this racially coded mapping of space and spatiality. But rather, the presence of the Japanese can render the primitive space of Manchuria modern through the colonized’s desire to be identified as Japanese.

His attempt to be Japanese suffers a setback as he disguises himself in patched Chinese clothing for security reasons. “Wearing Chinese clothing that bears the visible marks of patching, [Shin wonders] where he is now heading. He looks like a Chinese coolie who looks little better than a porter of bricks or a street sweeper, if a stranger sees him.” (306) In one respect, Shin’s dressed body involves the subjective perception of time and space, which is a key concern in Merleau-Ponty’s phenomenology in which “subjects are reinstated as temporal and spatial beings.”³²⁴ Joanne Entwistle points out that “we come to understand our relation in the world via the positioning of our bodies physically and historically in space.”³²⁵ “In other words, our bodies are not just the place from which we come to understand the world, but it is through our bodies that we come to be seen in the world. The body forms the envelope of our being in the world; selfhood comes from this location in the body.”³²⁶ “The self is located in a body, which in turn is located in time and space.”³²⁷ Shin’s body is dressed as Chinese so that his dressed body is positioned temporally and spatially in relation to others. Getting dressed and the daily experience of fashion involve the

³²⁴Joanne Entwistle, *The Fashioned Body: Fashion, Dress and Modern Social Theory* (Cambridge UK: Polity Press, 2000), 28.

³²⁵*Ibid.*, 29.

³²⁶*Ibid.*

³²⁷*Ibid.*

temporal and consist of “a series of continuous ‘nows’” which order the self and body in time.³²⁸ In other words, fashion as a system “constantly freezes the flow of everyday practices of dress and orders it into distinct entities past, present and future.”³²⁹ In this process, [t]he self, while experiencing an undifferentiated internal time, is also forever being ‘caught,’ frozen, temporally fixed by fashion.”³³⁰ Thus, the self is compelled to experience a sense of time or temporal constraints acting upon the dressed body.

Shin’s body dressed in ragged Chinese clothing contains two divergent moments in which fashion draws temporarily fixed racial boundaries in which, on the one hand, its temporality, the very mode of the production of fashion, is destabilized. A subject’s capacity to disguise his/her identity through clothing implies that the relationship between the ‘original’ and simulation can be reconsidered in terms of identity formation. Seen from Shin’s racialized mapping of time and space, Chinese fashion is less modern than the Japanese and western clothing that Shin wore while he was in the city, clothing whose symbolic meaning directly contradicts his perception of Manchuria as being primitive. Thus, clothing is a visual metaphor and emblematic embodiment of racial, national, and class characteristics. In the case of the Japanese man’s disguised identity, “Shin Jung Hŭm’s nerves are on edge because of the Korean clothing the Japanese man wears, and this bothers him more than the Sino-Japanese issues.” (311) For Shin, the Japanese man’s Korean disguise suggests a decadent atmosphere, which does not quite match the Japanese man’s appearance. (308-309) Shin and the Japanese man share a feeling of uneasiness and insecurity, arising from the lack of authenticity, disharmony, and incongruity in their disguised selves, although they know each other’s ‘original’ identity.

³²⁸Ibid., 32.

³²⁹Ibid.

³³⁰Ibid.

Shin's disguise of Chinese clothing also shows how the production of fashion complicates its temporality, which is racially perceived and constructed by an individual's subjective position. In Shin's configuration of time and space, Chinese fashion is associated with primitive Manchurian space, whose temporality is also tied to the past. Thus, it displays the time of the past, rather than freezing the present time in which fashion is produced. Fashion, whose quality is defined by time, pauses the flow of present time and projects itself into the future. However, Shin's Chinese fashion and the Japanese man's Korean fashion unsettles the temporality of fashion; because of their clothes, present moments are not temporally fixed but are linked with a racially perceived past. Thus, the role of fashion, in this context, does not produce a three-dimensional, distinctive temporality, but rather retreats to the past with which the disguised Chinese identifies for survival. At the same time, Shin is split within himself because his racial 'origin' and national and cultural orientations inconsistently unfold. Shin's concealment of his "real" identity provides a moment in which to compare his disguised Chinese self and the previous self, embodying the irreconcilable clash between his desire to be an 'authentic' Japanese and his 'real' identity located somewhere between Japanese and Korean. "This moment of reflection on the presentation of self is a moment when the internal *durée*, the internal flow of time, is halted or disrupted and the self as experienced in the 'now' has to reflect upon the 'old' presented self."³³¹ Not only is Shin's internal flow of time disrupted because of his reflections upon his complex selfhood, but it is also broken off because of his self-identification with primitiveness for the sake of his own survival.

On another level, Shin's costume epitomizes an erroneous assumption of the relationship between the 'original' and temporality. For instance, if the 'imitated' comes after the 'original,' then the latter is antecedent to the former in time. However,

³³¹Ibid.

“[a]rguably, cultural status lies neither with the original nor with its recreation, for past and present, the old and the new, the work of art and its mass-produced replica are constantly mapped by citation on each other.”³³² In a similar vein, Shin’s simulated, present identity references primitiveness and the temporality of the past; the order of time in the mapping of the ‘original’ and the imitation is disrupted and the boundaries of the two are called into question. At the same time, his ‘original’ identity, which is fractured along the racial and cultural lines of Korea and Japan, is incessantly unstable. It resists being identified and fixed in a particular, dominant way because of the gap between his desire to become Japanese and his racial ‘origin’ as Korean. “Ethnically, [Shin] preserves his Korean heritage in his blood, marked with brands that cannot be erased, but he has been transformed into Japanese in terms of thinking and characteristics. Despite this transformation, caught between these two, Shin Jung Hūm cannot flush with shame when he thinks of either heritage, Korean or Japanese.”³³³

In terms of narrative technique, Shin’s in-betweenness is emphasized in a similar way in which the opening remark is presented. “After Shin listens to stories about Korean bandits who are in remote areas and lynch Japanese, he is not uninterested in knowing why they conspire against Japanese and why Japanese go to rural areas and run farms in the face of suffering life-threatening attacks. Shin keenly and fully realizes his in-between, ambiguous position in which he has to stand between threatening Koreans and Japanese.”³³⁴ By showing Shin’s lukewarm and halfhearted interest in historical agendas, his in-betweenness is narrated as if it is unrelated to any social and historical conditions and entirely sundered from them. In the end, his positionality is unavoidably determined by others in their racial relations,

³³² Cavallaro and Warwick, *Fashioning the Frame*, 149.

³³³ Imamura, “Dōkōsha,” 313.

³³⁴ *Ibid.*, 312.

but Shin stresses the effect of such racial mapping in the development of history. Shin's indifference to the cause and history can be seen as a double voice in the narrative and thus emphasizes their undeniable, vital importance in determining social life in an ironic way. At the same time, however, this similar patterning of narrative technique—the explicit denial of hidden, historical causes but implicit acceptance of their effects on Shin's personal and social life inscribed in the narration—also corresponds to Shin's unwillingness to claim his racial origin and significantly embeds a profound meaning for identity formation in the story. Shin's 'origin' as Korean is not a definite source for conferring or guaranteeing any consistent and stable form of identity, and thus the source of meaning is contingent upon the effect. In this light, clothing can be both a source and an effect and functions like a mask in the story, one which is eventually doomed to be disclosed. Warwick and Cavallaro note: "In fact, the realization that the mask may reveal by concealing, that the subject's identity may constitute not so much a secret, inner core of meaning as a play of contingently superficial and external manifestations, interrogates at once the validity of both the depth-versus-surface and the truth-versus-deception binaries."³³⁵

The final scene of the story further illustrates that Shin's indifference to any social and political issues of the time, one of which is represented as the attack by Korean bandits, asserts itself even as he hovers between life and death, revealing the critical interplay between concealment and disclosure in the very nick of time.

Shin Jung Hŭm now has no time to consider matters about Korean bandits, *hutei senjin*, or even a matter of vital importance to his life and safety. The companion's suspicion throws him into the abyss of despair after Shin confirms how deep and serious national gaps are one more time even in this critical situation. However, Shin Jung Hŭm, even at this moment, has to look back upon his situation in which he is caught in between the so-called Korean bandits and the Japanese man, while at the same time resisting those Koreans

³³⁵Cavallaro and Warwick, *Fashioning the Frame*, 133.

on the one hand and being identified with them by his companion on the other hand. (316)³³⁶

Despite Shin's disregard of external, historical exigency, he is forced to clarify his position to the Japanese man and the Korean bandits, who actually collude with the people from the inn where Shin stayed in Changchun. The ending of the story, the final confrontation among the Japanese man, the Korean thugs, and Shin vividly crystallizes how an individual's identity has to be identified at least transiently for the sake of viewers and cannot be reconciled with itself, an intense dramatization of his deep existential agony over being positioned. The Japanese man, who is now disguised as a Korean, identifies Shin with the Korean bandits, but they, for their part, identify Shin with the Japanese man. Shin is now disguised as Chinese. He himself thinks he does not belong either to Japanese or Korean identities, and his 'origin' is unidentifiable. The Koreans bandits, the viewers, eventually force the disclosure of Shin's true, 'original,' identities. However, the final exposure is not a 'truth' of himself, thereby subversively blurring and complicating the border between what is used for concealment, or the surface, and what is disclosed, or the truth. As Cavallaro and Warwick express it, "[w]hatever is understood by the category of truth, as the regimes of signification to which a culture is prepared to accord value, may lie precisely on the surface; this surface, moreover, may turn out to conceal not a presence but an absence, not a depth but a vacuum."³³⁷

Moreover, this scene also significantly exhibits how repetition and difference, the original and imitation, function epistemologically and ontologically in the process of identity formation, and it also reflects upon the meaning of identity as well as the

³³⁶Kim Jang Sŏn has noted that this ending, Shin's confrontation with the Korean bandits, expresses the author's deliberate attempt to favor the social reality of Japanese rule of Manchukuo or Imamura's pro-Japanese tendency, but this statement merits further examination. Kim, *Comparative Research on Chinese and Korean Humanities during the Manchukuo Period*, 216.

³³⁷Cavallaro and Warwick, *Fashioning the Frame*, 133.

role of fashion. The concept of the original presupposes the possibility or the existence of its imitation or simulacra, and they are mutually exclusive in the sense that the original cannot exist without being imitated and vice versa; repetition cannot be identified without the source of the original. Repetition inevitably entails a range of differences, but unlike the existing notion of the original, repetition refuses to associate with any stable and constituent form to claim and construct an essence and homogeneity. Clothing and fashion is the best example in which the notion of the original is contested and a person's identity is altered through clothing. In the interplay of difference and repetition, "[i]t is difference that produces activity, meaning and stories, by spotlighting the inconstant rhythms through which repetition manifests itself."³³⁸ Cavallaro and Warwick persuasively argue:

Recurrence, then does not certify the enduring validity of a stable self but actually underlines the inconsistencies and continuous modifications of any form of subjectivity. Things return not because of the inherent stability of their essences, but rather because, lacking any fixed substance, they need to reformulate themselves ceaselessly. Identity, accordingly, emerges as a series of fictional roles, briefly entertained and casually discarded, as that which gesticulates [*sic*] repeated is not a stable personhood but the action of substituting one persona for another, one costume for another.³³⁹

The copy admits "to its own desire to eliminate any reminders of difference between the original and replica," and simulacra "thrive on dislocation and uncontainable difference, on multiplicity and errantry."³⁴⁰ Within this, the original and the replica could be one in a way that "identity, deprived of substance, is itself simulated, 'produced as an optical effect.'"³⁴¹

In this context, Shin's ambiguous relationship with the unfixed, undetermined 'origin' suggests a new understanding of the 'original'; it exists in a status of constant

³³⁸Ibid., 148-151.

³³⁹Ibid., 151.

³⁴⁰Ibid., 153.

³⁴¹Gilles Deleuze *Difference and Repetition*, trans. Paul Patton (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004) xix, quoted in Cavallaro and Warwick, *Fashioning the Frame*, 148.

fluctuation or undecidability, whose quality is not definitely identified so that it can be permeated and filled by any substance, thus resisting identification for the production of an unquestioned, privileged ‘origins’ and of a hegemonic notion of identity. His concealment and disclosure of his identities, whose final disclosure is not a ‘true, original’ self for the sake of the viewers, epitomizes the act of unsettling boundaries between the original and replica, thereby challenging any fixation of the two and their hierarchal mapping. My reading and interpretation of “A Companion” has revolved around antinomical and ironic facets of the nature of narrative, as well as contesting modalities of the workings of clothing and fashion in the process of identity formation, however inconsistent and contradictory these may be. They *per se* represent polysemy and polyphonic aspects of the text replete with heteroglossia, ambiguity, and complexities implicitly embedded within it. It is precisely uncertainty, instability, and discontinuity that resist the formation of any unified, essentialized, and centralized identity which would serve hegemony and domination. In sum, the uncertainty, instability, and discontinuity are social and cultural production that can defy any closing and fixation of signification, any promotion of signification over indication, and any creation of colonial order of people and things, as well as any form of appropriation in cultural exchange in the daily racial encounters with others and the sartorial practice of fashion that make up cultural exchange.

Becoming a Korean in Manchuria: The Politics of Hospitality, Homeland, and Monolingualism in Shu Qun’s “Children without a Homeland”

Shu Qun’s short story, “Meiyou zuguo de haizi” (A Child without a Homeland), was in part based on the author’s life. It has been read and interpreted as an expression of the Chinese people’s “spirit of internationalism” and their friendship with Koreans on account of its sympathetic presentation of the Chinese resistance

against Japanese imperialism.³⁴² It is true that this work describes the commonality of the two peoples, both of whom the Japanese colonized and denied their sovereignty. But by taking the story at surface value, however, little scholarly attention has been paid to the descriptions of the Koreans in the story; the previous studies gloss over the fact that the Chinese and Russians rearranged the hierarchical order with respect to the Koreans and imposed this new hierarchy upon them.³⁴³ Therefore, they fail to account for how racial, cultural, and national boundaries are created and delineated through the rhetoric and logic of differentiation based on physical features, the reception of modern hygiene, cartographic imagination, perceptions of homeland, and linguistic competence in narrative, literature, and knowledge production. In the story, the Korean boy's utterances in the languages of the Other, namely, Russian and Chinese, are evaluated by the Chinese narrator, who has the authority to determine the authenticity of his enunciation and style of speaking for the purpose of differentiating the stranger from the familiar.³⁴⁴ The Chinese narrator assesses the linguistic differences in order to draw racial and national distinctions and construct alterity and the subjectivity of the Other.

³⁴²Huang Xingquan and Liu Fengyan, "Shidai fengyun de luying guoji zhuyi jingshen de songge-ping Shu Qun 'Meiyou zuguo de haizi' " (A record of an unstable time, a praise for the spirit of internationalism: A review of Shu Qun's "Children without a Homeland," in *Dongbei xiandai wenxue shiliao* (Historical materials of modern Northeast Chinese literature), edited by Liaoning sheke xueyuan wenxue yanjiusuo (Liaoning Academy of Social Sciences Institute of Literature), 3. (April 1981): 47-53.

³⁴³Park Jae Woo's study "Chungguk hyōndae hanin chejae sosŏl simgch'ūngchōk yōn'gu" (A Study of Modern Chinese novels depicting Koreans) also introduces this work, but it lacks textual analysis. He classifies Chinese writers' depictions of Koreans into six categories; this work is under the category of fiction of the Northeast writers' group. For more detailed classification see Park Jae Woo, "A Study of Modern Chinese novels depicting Koreans," *Chungguk yōn'gu* (*Chinese Studies*, translation in the original text) 33 (June 2004): 149-161.

³⁴⁴According to Nikos Papastergiadis, "Simmel's construction of the stranger is embedded within a series of dichotomies, us-them, modern-traditional, insider-outsider; and while the stranger oscillates between these positions, it presupposes that these prior positions are fixed and counterposed according to a binary logic." Simmel also "defined the stranger as 'the potential wanderer,' with 'the freedom of coming and going.'" Papastergiadis, *The Turbulence of Migration*, 13, 67. In this section, I define Guoli as a foreigner, a stranger, or an exiled migrant. "The familiar" refers to Chinese and Russians who are the majority in the Russian school community and its surrounding areas.

More significantly, the story illustrates how the Chinese and Russians practice restrictive hospitality to the Koreans, conditioned on Koreans' national origin and their economical, cultural, and political status. They welcome the two Korean brothers on the basis of their national background, which provides their hosts with a feeling of superiority and a reminder of the loss of their own sovereignty. In this regard, the text does not so much recount the commonality of the Chinese and Koreans as it delicately unfolds how hospitality works in relation to unified notions of a homeland and a mother tongue among non-colonizers. The text displays how tenuous yet hierarchical boundaries of race and nationality are formed in the process of assisting foreigners.

In the following discussion, I address how the author projects his particular concern for the formation of the Chinese nation-state and its nationalism into the story. I first examine the representations of the Korean orphan, focusing on the social mechanisms of constructing national boundaries through the descriptions of physical features, the practice of modern sanitation, and the cartographic imagination of flags and maps.³⁴⁵ I discuss the perceptions of homeland and their relation to the creation of we-ness in conjunction with the social mechanism of the inclusion and exclusion of Koreans, who migrated to China because of Japanese colonization and were seen as strangers in Chinese society. I also analyze the Korean boy's enunciations in the languages of the Other, Russian and Chinese, and their significance in the formation of monolingual communities, showing the displacement of his identity; indeed, the ways in which these speech acts are framed and presented by the Chinese narrator convey a view of the nation as monolingual and internally homogeneous, in which there is no place for the Korean boy. The representation of a people who lack linguistic competence and are forced to articulate themselves in the language of the Other precisely reveals that the relationship between colonizer and colonized is not

³⁴⁵Wang Qiuying's short story, "Gaoyang" (A Scapegoat), also depicts a Korean orphan who is imprisoned for thievery. Okada, *Weimanzhuguo wenxue*, 147.

completely determined by existing categories of nationalities such as Chinese, Japanese, Korean, and Russian. In order to establish racial and national subjects based on the notion of a monolingual mother tongue, the subjectivity of the Korean boy who speaks Chinese and Russian, which are not his ‘own’ languages, is chiefly defined by the Chinese narrator, who has the power to determine the accuracy of both languages, one of which is not his ‘native’ language either.

Synopsis

“Children without a Homeland” directly conveys its thematic concern through the title, for the Koreans are represented as a stateless people. Guowaliefu, a Chinese boy who has a Russian name and attends a Russian school, is the narrator of the story. Guoli is a Korean homeless boy who has migrated into Manchuria in the forlorn hope of finding a better life less controlled by Japanese colonial rule. His mother is still in Korea, while he lives with his brother in Manchuria and tends cows near the school without receiving any financial support from his family back in Korea; in fact, the brothers even send money back to Korea in order for their mother to live. When the Japanese occupy Manchuria, the army also occupies Guoli’s little house, which is said to be as filthy as a garbage can, though other local people’s houses are also full of Japanese soldiers. One day, Suduowa, the Russian teacher, takes students on an excursion to the mountain, and they accidentally find that Guoli has dug a trench with a shovel for the Japanese army and that he has become a manual laborer. Guoli provokes a Japanese soldier’s anger; he hits Guoli’s head with his foot, bleeding his nose, which foreshadows Guoli’s future resistance. When Japanese soldiers, identified by the swords belted to their waists, leave for Weishahe, Guoli is also on board the ship to carry their water pails and ration sacks; en route, Guoli stabs a Japanese soldier in the chest with a dagger that he had previously received from Guowaliefu. He jumps

into the water, but luckily he is rescued by a foreign hunter. After this incident, with the aid of Chinese and Russian students and the Russian teacher, Guoli is able to attend the Russian school for a while. Guolisha, a Russian boy who initially displayed hostility towards Guoli by calling him a timid mouse, all of a sudden changes his attitude toward him and shows a feeling of amity and a gesture of solidarity. He acclaims Guoli as a good role model and he becomes his convivial friend through this valiant action. However, the Japanese eventually close down the school, and thus the Russians return to the U.S.S.R., leaving Guoli in the lurch. Suduowa strongly suggests that Guoli plant his national flag in Korea, since he cannot go to the USSR with them, implying that because he is a Korean subject, it is his as well as other Koreans' responsibility to liberate the country.³⁴⁶ Guowaliefu and Guoli head to their homeland, and in the end the Korean boy is arrested by the Japanese police simply because he is not Chinese, whereas Guowaliefu remains safe because he is a Chinese within the Chinese territory.³⁴⁷

Shu Qun's Life and its Relations to his Writing of the Story

Shu Qun, the author of the story, was from an indigent, working-class family. At the age of fifteen, he was admitted to the First Harbin Middle School, but stopped attending after only two months because he was not able to pay boarding expenses. At this time, he met a Korean student, who attended a Russian school, and his Russian teacher. The latter was very sympathetic to Shu Qun's poverty-stricken situation; she not only helped him enroll in the Russian school, but also supported him financially. Shu Qun used these experiences directly as a source for shaping a prototype of Guoli, the Korean cowherd in the story. However, the following year, the Education

³⁴⁶As I mentioned earlier, this story was originally published in *Wenxue* (Literature), but a later version was published based on the original text without revising the story lines. Thus I use the later version as the text here. Shu Qun, *Wenxue* (Literature) 6.5 (1936): 603-615 and Shu Qun, *Shu Qun wenji I* (Works of Shu Qun, Vol. 1) (Shenyang: Chunfeng wenyi chubanshe, 1984), 3-25.

³⁴⁷Shu, *Shu Qun wenji*, 3-25.

Department of the East Province Special District closed the Russian school. In 1932, Shu Qun joined the Chinese Communist Party and was then arrested and imprisoned in Qingdao. He came up with the title of the story “Meiyou zuguo de haizi” (A Child without a Homeland) while he was in prison.³⁴⁸ According to Yang Yi, Bai Wei noted and appreciated the story when Shu stayed in Shanghai in 1935, and Bai recommended Shu to Zhou Yang. Shu Qun subsequently became a member of the League of Left-Wing Writers, *Zuolian*. Zhou Libo highly praised the story, stating that “this work opened up a new era for literature in its artistic achievement and its depth and the range in representing the world.”³⁴⁹

As shown above, Shu Qun wrote “Mei you zuguo de haizi” partly because of his experiences as an adolescent in Harbin left him with a sharp perspective on contemporary sociopolitics. However, its protagonist is not a poor Chinese boy like the author himself, but rather a penurious Korean cowherd who is represented as being “without a homeland.” The details of the author’s own experiences are thus reformulated in the story in order to present his specific, political agenda, an agenda that emphatically draws the Chinese readers’ attention to the importance of preserving Chinese sovereignty from Japanese imperialism rather than present an appeal for colonized people’s solidarity and internationalism. It is certainly true that an author’s work does not have to directly and autobiographically reflect the author’s own life. However, the substitution of the penurious Korean boy for the destitute author not only inscribes his desire to be in a secure, salubrious, and superior state, but it also embodies a homeless and stateless people’s unstable and subordinate status with

³⁴⁸See, Li Dong and Xiao Shi, “Shu Qun zhuan” (Biography of Shu Qun), in *Dongbei xiandai wenxue shiliao* (Historical materials of modern Northeast Chinese literature), ed., Liaoning Academy of Social Sciences Institute of Literature, No. 2 (1980): 114-115 and Yang Yi, *Zhongguo xiandai xiaoshuo shi* (History of modern Chinese fiction) (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1988), 578-579. Wu Zhongyang points out that Shu’s ancestors were from Shangdong Province and his father married a Manchu woman, thus he classifies him as a Manchurian writer. Wu Zhongyang, *Zhongguo xiandai shaoshu minzu wenxue gailun* (Introduction to modern Chinese literatures of ethnic minorities) (Beijing: Zhongyang minzu xueyuan chubanshe, 1992), 133.

³⁴⁹*Ibid.*, 579.

respect to the Chinese majority, a precarious social status caused by exile and migration. What seems like the author's attempt to describe friendship with other people and remind the Chinese of the importance of the preservation of sovereignty, in fact, serves as a plausible yet perfect foil to establish Chinese nationality by differentiating the Korean boy from the Chinese majority; thus the boy actually provides the Chinese with a racial and linguistic source for racial and national formation.

Body as a Carrier of Nationality: Animal Symbolism, Hygienic Status, and Cartographic Imagination

Like "Kaosuofu's Hair," this story represents the Other through physical difference, animal symbolism, and the logic of modern hygiene. Guolisha, the Russian schoolboy, plays a major role in constructing the image of Koreans. Guolisha feels that there is a physical difference between him and Guoli. He measures his and Guoli's faces with one of his fingers, affirming the big difference in bloodline which the Chinese narrator putatively presumes. (5) The perception of physical difference contrasts with the Chinese narrator's assertion of sameness, since Guoli absolutely has an 'Asian' face with black hair and a low, small nose. (3) His facial image and the enlarged body are represented in Figure 6. Later, however, the narrator uses language to mark their differences. Guolisha's feelings of difference enable him to express his racial and national superiority to the Korean boy; they simultaneously serve as a crucial narrative device that highlights the Russian boy's hostility toward the Korean, yet conceals the Chinese's violence because he exerts his violence through the logic of difference according to language and nationality. The rhetoric of the differences between the Russians and Koreans is further underscored by the use of animal symbolism. In Guolisha's view, Koreans are too timid, and therefore they forget their country, which is a shameful thing. (6) The timorous attitude of Koreans is compared

to that of mice. (14) This is the actual reason why Guolisha does not want to become Guoli's friend, although he suddenly changes his attitude after Guoli proves his fortitude and strength in an attempt to kill a Japanese soldier.

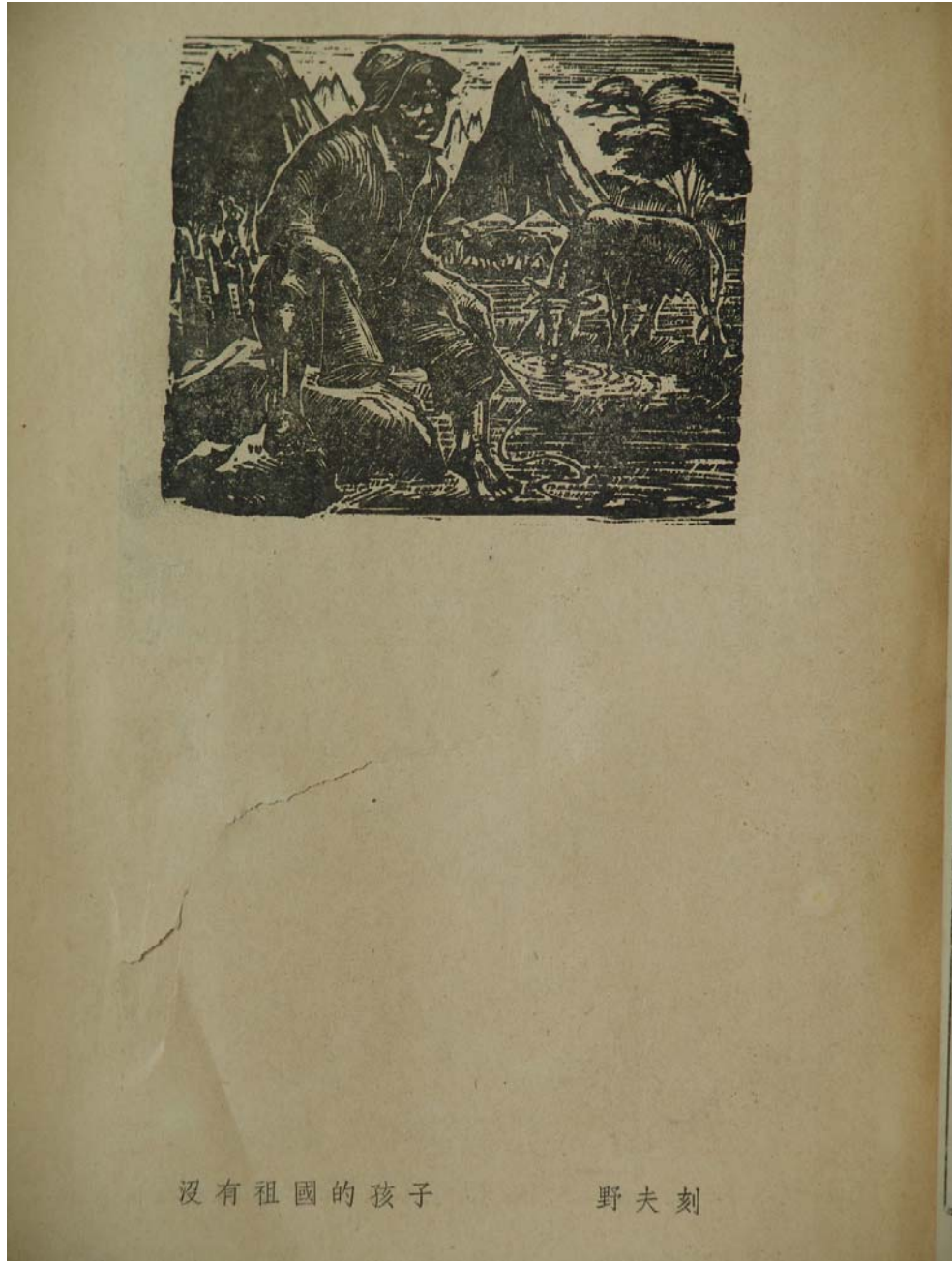


Figure 6. A woodprint representing Guoli by Ye Fu.

Guoli's body seems to be enlarged compared to the cow in this image. *Wenxue* (Literature) 8.2 (February 1938). [no page number]

After Guoli is admitted to the school, it is Guolisha who buys toothpaste and a toothbrush for him; at the same time, the notion of sanitary practices becomes the key marker that differentiates Guoli from the Russians and Guowaliefu who learn and practice hygiene in school. Guoli can only be aware of the problem of lack of sanitation through contact and education from the people who are more educated and ‘civilized’ than he is. The narrator represents Guoli’s living conditions according the same logic, comparing the size of his room and its lack of cleanliness to a garbage can: “Garbage in the can is perhaps cleaner and more precious than the things put in his room.” (11) This description appears to be simply a detailed presentation of Guoli’s living conditions; however, like Guolisha, Guowaliefu also views Guoli and his room in terms of modern standards of hygiene.³⁵⁰ Guoli becomes an object to be seen through the lens of sanitation in which the narrator makes a distinction between the Chinese, the Russians, and the Koreans, which draws more hierarchical racial and national boundaries. This differentiating and judgmental gaze according to the modern notions of hygiene also bears a strong resemblance to Mei Niang’s description of the Korean man’s unclean clothing which marks his uncivilized nationality. Likewise, Guoli’s body is racially recognized on the basis of the material condition and space in which his body dwells.

³⁵⁰The Japanese colonial government in Korea attempted to reform colonial subjects’ life, called “The Organization of National Subjects’ Life during Wartime.” The basic guide lines and rules for this movement were published in *SōDōin* (Total Mobilization). The cleaning of homes, both inside and outside, and streets were ordered. This journal also contains some articles on Manchukuo, so it is conceivable that this order might influence people in Manchukuo. Therefore, the practice of hygienic modernity is closely tied to the national project of the colonial state. “Senji kokumin seikatsu taisai kakuritsu kijun an” (Ideas of establishing standards of nationals’ living during wartime), *SōDōin*, ed. by the Chosen’s League of Total Mobilization of National Spirit (Kokumin Seishin *SōDōin* Chōsen Renmei hen), Dai 2-kan dai 10-gō Shōwa 15-nen 10-gatsu (October 1940) 2.10 (Tokyo: Ryokuin Shobō, 1996), 90.

Ruth Rogaski notes that Naogoya Sensai’s translation of *eisei* (*weisheng*, in Chinese) is somehow related to Foucault’s conception of governmentality and bio-power in that individuals are controlled and regulated by states’ disciplinary technologies. Japanese elites attempted to introduce this idea to the Chinese to stimulate their modernization projects. Ruth Rogaski, *Hygienic Modernity: Meanings of Health and Disease in Treaty-Port China* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 2004), 16.

Moreover, the images of the Other are produced and visualized through a cartographic imagination of space, in which all spatial elements and the complexity of social relations in nation-states are reduced and represented through flags and maps.³⁵¹ The employment of flags and maps as visual signs illustrates how the technology of the image directly contributes to the formation of national and racial subjectivity. Guolisha points to the national flags of China and the U.S.S.R., hung on the top of the dormitory in the school and fluttering in the air, in order to show Guoli there is no Korean flag. (7) As mentioned above, the recovery of Korean sovereignty is equated with putting the national flag in Korean soil. (23) For the Chinese narrator, the existence of the Chinese national flag gives him honor, which is contrasted with Northeast Chinese people's stateless status, shown in an advertisement of Shu Qun's anthology entitled *Children without a Homeland* in Figure 7. The narrator mentions: "When he sees that the flag of his homeland is raised up to the top of a flagpole, he himself feels like he has some kind of unconscious glory." (13) After the Japanese occupy Manchuria, the flags of China and the U.S.S.R still hang for a while. However, the Chinese flag is eventually torn apart, and a new flag is hung in the school. Finally, the flag of the U.S.S.R. also disappears. At first glance, the Chinese narrator seems to criticize Guolisha's hostility toward Guoli when he reminds Guoli of the absence of the Korean flag, but the Chinese narrator actually delineates a national boundary between him and Guoli with the Chinese flag.

³⁵¹Regarding this subject, see J.A. May, *Kant's Concept of Geography and its Relation to Recent Geographical Thought* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1970), Jeremy Black, *Maps and Politics* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1997), Thongchai Winichakul, *Siam Mapped: A History of the Geo-Body of a Nation* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1994), Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London, New York: Verso, 1991). My discussion on this topic is elaborated on the bases of these studies; I do not intend to dwell on it in greater depth than this but to bespeak the meaning and the functions of flag and map in the formation of national subjects and boundaries in the story.

沒有了祖國的孩子

舒羣 著 實價四角

以一位東北作家，來描寫處在敵人鐵蹄下的東北同胞的亡國生活，是最為深刻和膚切的。本書內容有：沒有了祖國的孩子，沙漠的火花，蒙古之夜，已死的與未死的，做人，獨身漢，蕭琴，隣家，誓言等九篇。（九月十八日出版）

上海生活書店發行

Figure 7. An advertisement introducing Shu Qun's anthology titled *Children without a Homeland* and emphasizing the Northeast Chinese people's stateless status.

Guangming (Bright Future) 1.7 (September 1936), 485.

However, our school's flag is still the same as the old one, both the flags of China and the U.S.S.R. are together. I love the Chinese part of the flag only. However, why does Guoli also love it? (22)

This passage is narrated through the Chinese narrator's imagination, revealing his feeling of discomfort and inner anxiety over Guoli's possible loyalty to the Chinese flag, signifying that non-Chinese people are not qualified to cherish the Chinese national flag which must be exclusively appreciated by national subjects. Guoli's particular feelings about it, which the narrator posits, could cause a threat to the maintenance of racial and national unity even at the level of psychology.

Furthermore, the Chinese narrator reveals his preoccupation with national borders in his careful observation of the narrative object. When the Russian students and the teacher decide to go back to Russia and the Chinese narrator also decides to go where his uncle lives, "Guoli cannot say anything. He blankly looks at the world map hung on the wall. There is his homeland adjacent to a corner of the ocean on that map, and his homeland is still marked in a different color to demarcate its borderland." (23)

The cover of Shu Qun's anthology, shown in Figure 8, also clearly shows that the Korean peninsula is under the Japanese rule. As already mentioned, the Russian teacher immediately rejects Guoli's wish to go to the U.S.S.R. Therefore, the cartographic imagination to map and remap clear-cut national boundaries is caught and reinforced by the Chinese and Russians, the familiars in Manchurian space, not by the stranger himself. The familiar's constant attention to symbolic signs of nation-states involved in spatial and social rearrangement ultimately tends to the construction of national boundaries. Thus, the centrality and unity of the Chinese nation as figured by the cartographic imagination of homogeneous people and space should be kept intact through the exclusion of any heterogeneous people and objects in accordance with a rigid demarcation of Chinese and non-Chinese people who are defined and classified as imagined national entities.



Figure 8. The title of Shu Qun's anthology, *Children without a Homeland*, is superimposed on maps of Manchuria and Korea, marked by rifles with bayonets, and the dates of the Japanese invasions and annexation.

Shu Qun, *Meiyou zuguo de haizi* (Shanghai: Shenghuo shudian, 1936). Courtesy of the Museum of Modern Chinese Literature in Beijing.

Politics of Hospitality: Naming, Homeland, and Migration

Apart from the cartographic imagination, Guoli's inability to travel outside of China elucidates a direct correlation between the ideology of homeland according to an individual's birthplace and the creation and fixation of nationality through it. When Guoli expresses his wish to go to Russia with Guolisha, his plan is scuttled by the

Russian teacher. She tells Guoli about the reason in a solemn strain; Guoli has the responsibility to put the Korean national flag in Korean soil in the future. (23) Her decision to exclude him from the travel to escape war springs from the idea that ‘homeland’ is constituted through the ideology of nationality given by birthplace and preserved by people who were born there. Nikos Papastergiadis pertinently points out that the term ‘homeland’ in modern times implies that all people have nation-states as members of national communities, which cannot apply to a people who have never belonged to a nation-state.³⁵² The Russian teacher and the Chinese narrator’s perception of homeland is also founded on the same logic in which their “homelands” are the spaces where they were born and have to finally return to in order to form nation-states. Envisioned by cartographic imagination through maps and flags, the Chinese narrator and the Russian teacher both demarcate national boundaries and reproduce the ideology of a homeland as an essential basis for the building of the nation-state. In other words, stateless people must return to their birthplaces to establish nation-states to recover and belong to that homeland, otherwise their social lives and ontological significance turn out to be groundless and meaningless. The perception of homeland as fixed by birthplace rules out any possibility to form and maintain the fluidity of an identity outside the territory of ‘homeland,’ thereby precluding the formation of an identity unrelated to the notion of homeland; but the Russians were outside their ‘homeland’ yet attempted to maintain a given, unified, and homogeneous nationality in the exiled country, Manchukuo.

Hence, Guoli’s status as an exile conversely grants him the power to migrate into any space where Japanese imperialism is absent or weaker than in his ‘homeland,’ thereby denying the fixity of homeland based on birthplace; the determination and fixation of homeland by birthplace can be contested by stateless people who do not

³⁵²Papastergiadis, *The Turbulence of Migration*, 55.

have sovereignty, and who can thus exercise the opportunity and freedom to move and form a new social power. Guoli and his brother have to leave Korea in order to lead a better life, one relatively less regulated by Japanese colonial rule. It is evident that his wish to go to Russia is to avoid Japanese rule in Manchuria, stemming from his anti-Japanese sentiment and devastating living conditions wrecked by colonization. But his desire to move suggests that an individual's dwelling place does not have to be identical with an individual's birthplace in order to construct nation-states and need not be bound by existing categories of peoples and nationalities. Seen in this light, his desire for unfettered mobility inscribes a social alternative to the construction of nation-states based on the idea of a homeland and perceived as a given and homogeneous entitlement of birthplace. His desire to move implies his refusal to integrate himself into spatial and national boundaries, and thus it can produce a social force that is not entirely controlled by the dominant apparatus of nation-state construction and is not merged into them. The displacement of his identity caused by colonization conversely can empower him to challenge, through his desire to move, the very possibility of unifying and homogenizing space and people for the construction of nation-states.

The displacement of Guoli's identity is represented by the fact that he is considered a foreigner by the Russians and the Chinese. His lack of a family name nullifies his Korean origin. The elimination of his Korean family name significantly illuminates the social mechanism of hospitality and its right to create a new name. "It is unknown who gave this foreign name to him [Guoli]; long after, he had already come to accept it." (3) The familiar grants a name, which functions as a signifier of his/her particular concerns about the relationship between the foreigner and the local and national community. In Greek, "*xenos* [foreigner] indicates relations of the same type [*sic.*] between men linked by a pact which implies precise obligations also

extended to their descendants.”³⁵³ Derrida elaborates on the problem of the application and the extension of a right of hospitality based on familial lineage:

[F]rom the outset, the right to hospitality commits a household, a line of descent, a family, a familial or ethnic group receiving a familial or ethnic group. Precisely because it is inscribed in a right, a custom, an *ethos* and a *Sittlichkeit* [ethical life], that objective morality that we were speaking about last time presupposes the social and familial status of the contracting parties, that it is possible for them to be called by their names, to have names, to be subjects in law, to be questioned and liable, to have crimes imputed to them, to be held, to be responsible, to be equipped with namable identities, and proper names. A proper name is never purely individual.³⁵⁴

The absence of Guoli’s Korean family name suggests the precise social condition in which familiars extend hospitality to foreigners without proper names so that they may be identified. On the one hand, his identity can be dissociated from his Korean lineage outside the territory of his ‘homeland,’ but on the other hand, he has to have a proper name to be called by the familiar in order for him to receive hospitality. Derrida differentiates foreigners from the absolute Other: “the latter cannot have a name or a family name.”³⁵⁵ Thus familiars selectively and conditionally designate the objects of their hospitality. Derrida further puts forth that hospitality should be carried out without asking of foreigners “either reciprocity (entering into a pact) or even their names. The law of absolute hospitality commands a break with hospitality by right, with law or justice as rights.”³⁵⁶

Guoli’s acquisition of his Chinese name reveals how the familiars project their desire for identifying an exile as a person with a similar name as their own. According to this conditional law of hospitality in which a proper name must be given to select foreigners, Guoli becomes eligible for receiving hospitality and is identified as an

³⁵³Jacques Derrida, *Of Hospitality*, trans. Rachel Bowlby (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000), 21.

³⁵⁴*Ibid.*, 23.

³⁵⁵*Ibid.*, 25.

³⁵⁶*Ibid.*

object onto whom the familiar's political concern is projected, "since there is also no hospitality with finitude, sovereignty can only be exercised by filtering, choosing. . . ."³⁵⁷ More specifically, Guoli's stateless status awakens in Guowaliefu, the Chinese narrator, awareness of the importance to have his own nation-state to belong to. Guowaliefu keeps Guoli's brother's words in mind: "Unlike the Chinese who still have their country/nation-state (*guo*), we do not even have a home (*jia*) at all anymore." (13) Guowaliefu's status, with a home and a nation-state when Guoli comes to Manchuria, is sharply contrasted with the brothers' homelessness. The status of having a home is the fundamental rationale by which hospitality is practiced. By having a home and a nation-state, a person can become a host and receive whomever one wants.³⁵⁸

Guoli's stateless status as a foreigner and his association with other people in school illustrates how an individual's hospitality toward foreigners connects to their own social and historical tasks of implanting modernity and constructing nationality. In this process, Guoli's labor, brought about by colonization and migration, operates through the logic of capitalism. Derrida continues to maintain that hospitality should not come either from 'our' familiarity to strangers or their potential usefulness and meaningfulness for 'our' needs. The identity of the stranger should not be presumed on the basis of their prior identity and not oriented toward the stranger's integration into certain and proper membership, which can lead to assimilation in the end. This is the fundamental principle that ought to be preserved as the stranger and the familiar encounter each other when the stranger arrives at the familiar's land.³⁵⁹ Russian and Chinese hospitality toward Guoli stems from their specific aim to position him,

³⁵⁷Derrida, *Of Hospitality*, 55.

³⁵⁸*Ibid.*, 53-55.

³⁵⁹Papastergiadis, *The Turbulence of Migration*, 56.

resulting from their assumption of his social and national background and his position in their hierarchy.

First, Guoli's social status as a cowherd and a child worker exhibits how the social and national mechanisms of migration play out in the development of capitalism and modernity as a source of flexible, lower-cost labor.³⁶⁰ As a child worker, Guoli furnishes the local people with inexpensive labor and earns a means to support himself and his mother in Korea, thus transferring capital back to Korea. Marx sheds light on the mechanism of migration in association with labor and capitalism: the need or shortage for labor is always supplied by migrants in the labor market, and the influx of migrant labor keeps the cost of labor down to produce surplus value. The new, flexible labor force that provides lower-cost labor is requisite for the creation of surplus value in the development of capitalism.³⁶¹ Guoli's social status as a foreigner in the community also demonstrates how personal movement is inextricably linked to the macro, social mechanism of the production of surplus value and modernity, even though the story does not explicitly describe the production of surplus value and its extraction.³⁶² The surplus value, as implicit or invisible as it may be in this case, is preconditioned by the social mechanism of migration. The foreigner functions as the provider of low cost labor and the familiar receives the products of that labor, which is the basis for the production of surplus value. Guoli's labor is also rewarded and supplemented by clothing and food leftover or discarded by the familiar. This type of rewarding reveals the familiar's perfunctory sympathy for his destitute living condition and lack of resources. His change of occupation from cowherd to worker

³⁶⁰In the story, Guoli is 15 years old. He came to China at the age of 10, and his mother went to her sister's house 5 years before the story takes place. (13) It is inferred that this is around the time when he left Korea. The original Chinese sentence is "*xianzai de Guoli shi ge xiao gongren*" (Guo is now a young worker). (15)

³⁶¹Papastergiadis, *The Turbulence of Migration*, 62-63.

³⁶²Russians in the story can be seen as strangers/foreigners too; however, they are the dominant group in the community, especially in school, so I define them as the familiar here.

demonstrates that his body is his only means to produce anything of value for exchange. In this light, his status is no better than that of a manual worker without any means of production, thereby resulting in his alienation from work. Moreover, his social life is unrelentingly defined and controlled by the familiar to the degree that his ability to move is forestalled by the familiar, the Russians, who are actually ‘strangers’ in Chinese territory. Thus, the story ascribes his alienation from the familiar to his colonized, ‘homeland’ status as a stateless stranger as well as to his social status as a boy worker.

Second, Guoli’s acceptance of hygienic modernity further suggests that the familiar’s hospitality is in fact deeply involved in the modernization project in the name of civilization. Their amicability toward the foreigner, wittingly or unwittingly, is a part of the modernizing project and contributes to the production of a consuming subject. Determined by his social and national status, he becomes the object to be educated and modernized by the ‘familiar’ Russians and Chinese in school, which is the most influential institution for the social reproduction of national subjects. His background and the political situation of Korea already prefigure and determine his identity as the receiver of hygienic modernity. The capital he earns may be spent practicing the modernity he learns from the familiar, and he is thus incorporated into society by the transformation of his material and social life in capitalist terms.

Lastly, the Chinese and Russians’ hospitality exhibits an inevitable and irresolvable tension between the demand for integration/assimilation and the maintenance of national boundaries for the formation of nation-states. Guoli, as a stateless person who is subordinate to the familiar, has to be assimilated into the community of the familiar by attending the school and practicing hygienic modernity. Yet at the same time, he has to remain a foreigner and a stateless person in order to keep intact racial and national boundaries and to affirm the nation-state of the familiar.

On the one hand, Guoli, whose significance is assigned by the dominant familiar of the community, serves as the foreign Other in a multiethnic community to form their nation-states as a whole. Their social and material relations are grounded in the matrix of capitalism and modernity for integration of the stranger as a member of the community. On the other hand, the familiar's attempt to fix Guoli in his prior national identity does not allow him to form a fluid identity not entirely determined by the existing categories of peoples and nationalities. The boundaries of nationalities in the multiethnic community must be drawn and preserved through the existence of the stranger as a stateless person, who is only partially included to perform the project of modernity with the logic of capitalism for social production and exchange. Moreover, with educational and hygienic reform put into action with Guoli, the familiar completely excludes the possible oscillation between Guoli's prior, national identity inside a 'homeland' and the present formation of his social and national identity outside a 'homeland' in order to maintain a homeland-based nationality and language in the multiethnic social and national relations of the familiar's nation-state.

Speaking in the Language of the Other: Speech Act, Authenticity, and Monolingualism

The construction of nation-states and nationality is centered around Guoli's use of the languages of the Other, Russian and Chinese, and the relationship between 'native' language and the language of the Other. Guoli's 'native' language, Korean, never appears in the text, as he expresses himself in either Russian or Chinese. The Chinese narrator continuously evaluates the accuracy and authenticity of Guoli's use of both languages, yet never critiques the Russian boy's ability to speak Chinese, though he mentions Guolisha does not understand Chinese. (9) As for Guoli, instead of the Korean language, the memory of his father and Korea becomes the source and means by which to construct and maintain his Korean identity.

While the Chinese narrator's speaking Russian is never assessed either by the Russian teacher or Guolisha, Guoli's enunciation in Russian and Chinese becomes the object of critical evaluations by the Chinese narrator's own standards. The Chinese narrator, though he himself is not a native speaker of Russian, incessantly evaluates Guoli's linguistic competence according to accuracy, fluency, authenticity, and purity. The series of events related to Guoli's linguistic abilities and their (in)accurate and (im)proper presentations, arbitrarily defined by the narrator, reveal precisely how language is appropriated by the familiar to construct nationality based on a monolingual community through the distinction and differentiation of non-'native' speech acts. However, Guoli's wish to travel without returning to his 'homeland' and his speech acts in Chinese and Russian conversely offer a reflective point from which to reconsider the relationship between homeland and mother tongue. In Guoli's case, they are not always identical to each other; the fixity of both can be destabilized by virtue of his uncertain status, lacking the sense of belonging to the language he speaks and to the land where he was born.

First of all, the Chinese narrator assumes different attitudes toward Guolisha and Guoli when they speak the Chinese language. Guolisha, the Russian boy, is the first student who brings up the issue of Guoli's stateless status when he says: "[w]omen C[.]C[.]C[.]P[.] (*e wen: Sulian jiancheng*)," which can be translated as, "We [are] C[.]C[.]C[.]P[.] (the Russian language, the acronym of U.S.S.R.)." (5) The original Chinese sentence lacks *shi*, the stative verb, denoting "is" or "are" in English. This word is used before pronouns or nouns to define and identify the subject. In this sentence, Guolisha does not say *shi*, exposing his incompetence in the Chinese language.³⁶³ In fact, in the story, the narrator says that "he [Guo'lisha] does not

³⁶³This sentence can be seen as Guolisha's direct word matching of the Chinese words based on the Russian language. The Russian language does not have the equivalent of *shi*, so it would be natural for him to omit this word. In addition, the Russian language does not have words for *women* and *zanmen* (including speaker and person spoken to), and including and excluding listeners depends on context.

understand Chinese,” so his inaccurate code mixing is quite predictable and understandable. (9) However, the Chinese narrator does not critically assess his utterance, which is in sharp contrast to his incessant judgment of Guoli’s enunciation whenever he speaks either Chinese or Russian. As we shall see in Guoli’s case, the Chinese narrator does not equally accept the two foreigners’ speech acts in the Chinese language, thus reflecting his racial and colonial relationships with them. As a student who attends a Russian school, Guowaliefu himself is a subject who learns a foreign language that is considered to be the language of an ‘advanced’ civilization.³⁶⁴ Therefore, Guolisha’s incompetence in the Chinese language is evaluated according to his racial and national status, not purely by his linguistic ‘mastery’ of the foreign language, thereby embodying the Chinese narrator’s racialization of the foreigners’ interlocutions in Chinese.

More importantly, the phrase, “we [are] U.S.S.R.,” referring to the whole people of the U.S.S.R. in the federal political system, substantiates Guolisha’s postulation of a homogeneous, monolingual language community and its inseparable relation to nationality by creating a sense of belonging attached to that language and community. The Chinese word, “*wo men*” (we) does not include the listener, Guoli, so the word itself signifies the exclusion of him and thus underscores Guolisha’s inclusion in the Russian linguistic community. On the other hand, this mixing of code suggests the speaker’s presupposition of his national identity as a marker of nationality; on the other hand, this language practice itself embodies the speaker’s power relation with the listener and embeds Guolisha’s desire for colonizing and

Therefore, in this case, the exclusion of the listener, even in the context of Russian, is very obvious. I thank Pavel for answering my questions regarding this sentence.

³⁶⁴The Public Welfare Department of Manchukuo started to conduct examinations in foreign languages for the Chinese in 1936. These examinations were not official; for the Chinese, they are connected to acquiring priority when it came to employment. Therefore, they had urgent significance for Chinese applicants. The largest number of exams were given for Japanese, followed by Chinese, Mongolian and Russian. Okada, *Weimanzhouguo wenxue*, 173. As shown above, at the time, learning the Russian language was also related to an increase in a person’s value in the job market.

suppressing Guoli through the very mixture of the two languages Guoli can speak. By combining the exclusive nature of each language through the use of “we” and “U.S.S.R.,” Guolisha creates in-groupness through the exclusion of the listener. In this respect, Guolisha’s code mixing serves as a decisive means of establishing a colonial relationship between the speaker within the nation-state and the listener outside it. Guolisha includes Guowaliefu as one of the members of our U.S.S.R., so Guoli calls his name and points out, “‘Ah, Guowaliefu, U.S.S.R.?’” And then Guoli shakes his head and speaks to all the students, ‘Guowaliefu is a Chinese: how can you say it is okay? I am a Korean: how can you say it is not okay?’ Guolisha responds: ‘Korea (*Gaoli*)? Korea as a nation-state/country (*guojia*) no longer exists anymore in the world.’” (5) His social status as a stateless person marginalizes him, so he requires social recognition and acceptance by the dominant group to form his social and national identity.

Guoli’s attempt to define his national identity in Chinese, the language of the Other, precisely reveals the displacement of his identity, which does not correspond to the language he speaks. Thus, his capacity to speak either Chinese or Russian has to be checked by the Chinese narrator, whose perception of language is monolingual and founded on national language, and since Guoli’s interlocution is always flawed and is not as perfect as those who speak the ‘native’ language, and his ability to speak it is devalued by the Chinese narrator. Derrida’s monograph, *Monolingualism of the Other; or The Prosthesis of Origin*, directly critiques the common, erroneous belief that there is a mastery of language resulting from its possession, thereby forming exclusive belonging and identity. As a Franco-Maghrebian, he argues:

Because the master does not possess exclusively, and naturally, what he calls his language, because whatever he wants or does, he cannot maintain any relations of property or identity that are natural, national, congenital, or ontological, with it because he can give substance to and articulate [*dire*] this appropriation only in the course of an unnatural process of politico-

phantasmistic constructions, because language is not his national possession, he can, thanks to that very fact, pretend historically, through the rape of a cultural usurpation, which means always essentially colonial, to appropriate it in order to impose it as “his own.”³⁶⁵

Derrida’s thesis, “I only have one language, yet it is not mine,” clearly exemplifies the fallacy and illusion of monolingualism of the Other, in that language cannot be possessed and appropriated yet the formation of identity is only possible through identification with the language one speaks.³⁶⁶ According to Derrida, this “would betray a disorder of identity [*trouble d’identité*].”³⁶⁷ Guoli’s speech acts illustrate how his interlocation of the language of the Other functions as a distinctive marker of the foreigner as well as a crucial means for the Chinese narrator to control and marginalize the Other. As a result, Guoli’s identity is defined through all the standards the narrator sets and his logic of monolingualism identified with the unified national language and nationality. At the same time, Guoli’s ability to speak Russian verifies that learning and speaking the language of the Other can derive from occupational relations rather than particular national identity.

Above all, Guoli’s linguistic competence is a distinctive marker that reveals his foreign identity to the Chinese narrator. On the whole, his foreign speech is “unclear and incomplete.”(3) Whenever Guoli speaks Chinese or Russian, the Chinese narrator always assesses the accuracy of his speech in order to highlight his incompetence, lack of authenticity, and racial and cultural differences. With regard to Guoli’s Russian, it does not make sense at all. (11) When Guoli comes to the school as a student, the Chinese narrator thinks he looks similar to the other students in class, yet he cannot say a word in Russian, which makes him different. (19) Guowaliefu is the Chinese subject who can evaluate the accuracy of Russian, which is not his native language.

³⁶⁵ Jacques Derrida, *Monolingualism of the Other; or The Prosthesis of Origin*, trans. Patrick Mensah (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), 23.

³⁶⁶ Ibid., 1.

³⁶⁷ Ibid., 14.

However, Guoli does not have any problem speaking occupational parlance with Russians concerning his job as a cowherd. Guoli's competence in Russian proves how speaking a specific language is not necessarily related to national identity. This example stands out as an illuminating reminder of how learning and speaking the language of the Other can pertain more to job performance, rather than to cultural assimilation into the language and formation of the national subjectivity of that language.³⁶⁸

Although Guoli's use of Russian contains the possibility that language practice does not necessarily entail monolingualism for the formation of national identity, it is still under the direct and absolute control of the Chinese narrator whose linguistic authority and power as a student derives from the school as a social institution for the production of symbolic power and profit, as conceptualized by Bourdieu. The fact that he has enrolled in the school earlier than Guoli provides him with the authority to evaluate Guoli's utterances using stricter standards, regardless of Guoli's actual communication ability with Russians in daily social life. With the linguistic and symbolic power that Guowaliefu has acquired in the institution, he rearranges Guoli hierarchically and assumes the role of a monitor who precisely and critically checks his "unclear and incomplete" utterances, as if he were paranoid about what and how Guoli speaks. It can be said that Guowaliefu plays the role of a teacher who corrects usages and utterances to make Guoli speak "the legitimate language" of Russian.³⁶⁹ Guowaliefu is the subject who possesses symbolic capital and exerts symbolic and linguistic power endowed by the institution which he attends. In this sense, the school

³⁶⁸ Aneta Pavlenko and Adrian Blackegde point out that as for Iranian immigrants in the U.S., speaking English does not signify their identification with language and nationality or the formation of American identity, but it is more tied to their professional obligations. Aneta Pavlenko and Adrian Blackegde, ed., *Negotiation of Identities in Multilingual Contexts* (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters LTD, 2004), 5.

³⁶⁹ Pierre Bourdieu, *Language and Symbolic Power*, trans. Gino Raymond and Matthew Adamson (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999), 60.

is that very social institution that legitimates the symbolic power recognized by society and its members.³⁷⁰

Guowaliefu is also intent on the (in)accuracy and naturalness of Guoli's Chinese and evaluates it with stricter standards, revealing his dual attitude toward Guoli's enunciation in Chinese; the object for critique and praise depending on speech events is linked to the narrator's justification of his role as a friend. Like his Russian, Guoli's Chinese cannot be understood completely. Even when he speaks correctly, there is always a flaw because he cannot speak like 'native' Chinese speakers. When Guoli talks about his father who died in prison after resisting Japanese colonial rule in Korea, Guowaliefu cannot understand him fully, since he talks too fast, too much, and not always intelligibly. (12) Even when he speaks Chinese perfectly, "his gesture is too awkward and is not natural at all, as if he were speaking to a stranger; his speaking does not bear any feeling at all." (7) However, when the Chinese narrator cannot defend Guoli, Guoli's Chinese becomes the object of a compliment. Guoli accompanies a group of students to a theater to watch a film. The ticket taker does not allow him to enter the theater, since he is not a student of the school, but a poor Korean (*qiong Gaoli bangzi*).³⁷¹(9) The ticket taker asks Guowaliefu whether there are any benefits to befriending Guoli.(9) At this point, the Chinese narrator and Guoli are at a loss, but Guoli talks back to the ticket taker in Chinese: "Hey measly wimp, just wait, I'll get you back!"(9) The Chinese narrator later thinks back to this moment and realizes that Guoli knew Chinese so well that he was able to speak it indignantly.³⁷² However, at that moment, he still wants to check whether or not Guoli knows Chinese; Guoli simply repeats what he just said. This pleases the Chinese narrator, as if Guoli

³⁷⁰Ibid., 72.

³⁷¹This is an abusive and derogatory Chinese word to describe Koreans or Korean Chinese.

³⁷²The gap between the event and narrative time betokens the Chinese narrator's lapse of memory and proves how Guoli's speech acts are entirely framed and narrated by him. Thus the validity of narrative is undermined and his latent guilty feeling towards Guoli is disclosed through his own narration.

has taken revenge for him. (9) In the final scene, when the Japanese policeman keeps checking Guoli's nationality, Guoli himself answers him in Chinese: "I am a Korean, but he is not." (25) The Chinese narrator remains silent, and the story ends.³⁷³

As with the Russian language, the Chinese narrator establishes his own standard for authenticity of the Chinese language. However, other Chinese speakers can challenge and reverse it. More significantly, the Chinese narrator enforces his cultural demand that Guoli speaks Chinese accurately and naturally at the level of "native" speakers. In terms of nationality, Guolisha and Guoli do not have a direct colonial relationship, but the former colonizes and dominates the latter through the appropriation of the language attached to his nationality. Guoli's incomplete and unclear speech acts function as a social event for giving Guolisha a feeling of superiority and controlling the "colonized." Guoli's response to the ticket taker shows that the stranger's mastery of the language of the Other, revealing the perfect fluency of the Chinese, challenges Chinese discrimination against the stranger. However, Guowaliefu's vacillation between his demand for his linguistic assimilation and his observation of linguistic and cultural markers reveal Guoli's displacement of identity in which he is forced to articulate himself in the language of the Other, yet he cannot be identified or recognized as a member of the language community. In order to be recognized and accepted by Chinese, Guoli has to be linguistically assimilated into the dominant Chinese with the same political proclivity and position as the Chinese narrator without using his "native" language. However, he cannot be accepted as a member of Chinese society because of the social reasoning that the homeland and the

³⁷³As the final scene shows, the Chinese boy is inside Chinese territory, so he does not have any problem when the Japanese police check their status. In contrast, the Korean boy is outside Korean territory, so he is arrested. However, this description is somehow manipulative in that Koreans were considered Japanese imperial subjects. Although Guoli attempts to kill a Japanese soldier, it is unclear that this is the reason why the Japanese police arrest Guoli. Thus, there might be a gap between representations of Korean status and their images and their actual legal status as Japanese subjects in Manchuria.

national language are only given to insiders, those who were born in inside the Chinese territory, despite the fact that he fuels the establishment of Chinese nationality.

Guoli's inaccurate and unnatural speech acts in Chinese can also be viewed as a type of creolized, 'impure' Chinese in the sense that he is not an ethnically 'pure' Chinese and the language he speaks is not 'authentic' Chinese. Guoli's Chinese threatens to undermine the purity of the Chinese language, so that it would not be represented and understood fully by the Chinese narrator. Therefore, Guowaliefu's contradictory demands for linguistic assimilation and the exclusion of Guoli as a member of society significantly illustrates how the 'colonizer' imposes the language of the Other on the 'colonized,' yet never allows the 'colonized' to be identified with the language he/she speaks for social integration. No matter how hard Guoli tries to express himself in Chinese, his Chinese is always bound to have insurmountable flaws and gaps and his position is fixed as a foreigner in order to maintain linguistic and national boundaries so as to preserve the homogeneity of Chinese nationality and the purity of the Chinese language.

Becoming a "Korean": Absence of the Real Father, Presence of the Historical Father, and Memory

In addition to Chinese' and Russians' constructions of Guoli's racial and national identity, Guoli himself forms his national identity, although it is narrated and controlled by the Chinese narrator. Guoli's father died before he was born, but his mother tells his story. If a reader interprets the story allegorically, the absence of the father figure not only illustrates his family background but also stands for the loss of country. The real father exists in the past and is only revived through his memory, as introduced by his mother, which enables him to mediate the connection between his past in Korea and his present life in Manchuria in shaping his national identity. In

addition to his real father, An Chung Kūn (An Zhonggen in Chinese)³⁷⁴—the Korean nationalist who assassinated Ito Hirobumi, the First Government General of Colonial Korea, at the Harbin station in 1909—also represents the gritty Korean nationality that the Chinese narrator applauds in order to refute Guolisha's perception of Koreans' timidity. The real father and the historical father figure, both of whom attempted to recover Korean sovereignty and died, are the defining source for symbolizing Korean nationality and constructing a Korean identity for Guoli and the Chinese. Guoli has to shape his national identity around his real father and the historical figure to demonstrate his unflinching courage and the significance of his existential being as a Korean. This leads him to inevitably imitate the political activities of the real father and the symbolic father.

The adoption of the Korean historical figure to define Korean national identity by the Chinese generates the ramifications of the use of the symbolic father's image and its effects. The historical father becomes cultural capital for the Chinese and Koreans to share and circulate locally and transnationally. Moreover, the Chinese, the familiar, impose Korean nationality, as represented by the cultural icon and his gumption, upon Guoli, and thus he constructs his national identity according to their desires. To be a Korean, Guoli has to fulfill the familiar's desire to define what it means to be a Korean by engaging in anti-Japanese activities in ways that the familiar laud. In this respect, Guoli's political activity against Japanese imperialism reflects the Chinese desire for presenting common social status on the basis of the Koreans' and the Chinese subjugation to Japan. The Chinese's political agenda for resisting Japan to preserve China's sovereignty is in part projected onto Guoli's political consciousness and activity of attacking the Japanese soldier with bravery and plucky determination. By configuring Guoli in the same political position as the Chinese narrator, his quest

³⁷⁴In the story, neither the author nor an editor provides any information on him even in a footnote. It is likely that he was quite well known at least in Harbin during that time.

for an open space, separate from the concept of homeland and enunciation in the language of the Other separate from the rubric of monolingualism and nationality, is eventually directed toward Chinese nationalism.

This story also offers an important commentary on how Korean race and nationality are categorized.³⁷⁵ The narration of the story itself is the process by which the categories of race and nationality are unsettled, while at the same time constructing a people by calling and naming them. Throughout the text, the narrator and other characters define Guoli's nationality as Gaoli (Koryŏ in Korean), and Chosŏn is misnamed Gaoli. Chosŏn was the name of the last Korean dynasty, but King Kojong changed it to the Korean Empire (*Taehanjeguk* in Korean) in 1897 in an attempt to innovate and form a modernized state and government. Therefore, the accurate term for the kingdom or the state before its annexation by the Japanese in 1910 should be either Chosŏn or Taehanjeguk (*Dahan diguo* in Chinese).³⁷⁶

Moreover, the narration of the story also works toward the formation of a race which is in fact at odds with the official categorization of the Korean race by the Chinese and Japanese at the time. The Japanese did not consider Koreans a race but a nationality. According to official Japanese sources, "[t]he Koreans in Manchuria are not classified as a 'race or tribe,' but as one of the three main nationalities living in Manchuria, of which the other two were Manchukuoans and Japanese."³⁷⁷ However, the Chinese and the Chinese Communist Party's classifications of Koreans were transformed in the 1920s, 1930s, and 1940s. In the late 1920s and the early 1930s, the

³⁷⁵Studies on the Manchus define Koreans as Manchus in the seventeenth century. Pamela Crossley's *Orphan Warriors: Three Manchu Generations and the End of the Qing World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990) is one of representative works.

³⁷⁶Korean Russians call themselves *Koryŏin* (people of Koryŏ/Korea). North Korea's official name in Korean also contains the word *Chosŏn* (*Chaoxian*, in Chinese), so the Chinese often call Koreans, including or excluding North or South Koreans, *Chaoxian ren* (Chosŏn people/Koreans), *Beichaoxian ren* (North Chosŏn people/North Koreans), *Nanchaoxian ren* (South Chosŏn people/South Koreans), *Hanguoren* (South Koreans), and *Nanhan ren* (South Koreans).

³⁷⁷Colin Mackerras, *China's Minorities: Integration and Modernization in the Twentieth Century* (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1994), 123.

Chinese Communist Party (hereafter C.C.P.) considered Koreans as “Koreans living in China” or “migrant Koreans,” not as a race or an ethnic group in China. For instance, the Resolution on ethnic issues at the Sixth National Convention of the C.C.P. in July of 1928 states that with regard to the issue of Northern ethnic groups, such as Mongols, Hui people, and Gaoli people (Koryŏ people in Korean) in Manchuria, they have important significance in the Chinese revolution. From 1931 to 1942, the C.C.P. and Mao Zedong came to consider Koreans in China an ethnic group, although they were defined as either Gaoli people (*Gaoli ren*) or Chaoxian people (*Chaoxian ren*). In 1945, Korean Chinese were recognized and defined as one of the Chinese ethnic minorities. The Northeast Bureau of the C.C.P. acknowledged that Korean Chinese (*Chaoxian zu*) were a Chinese ethnic group and have equal rights and the same responsibilities as the Han people.³⁷⁸ By defining “Gaoli” as a nation-state, the Russians and the Chinese construct a nationality and a people who belong to that national community. Guoli himself defines his national identity in response to their terms. Guoli’s final announcement of his nationality as Gaoli reveals the process in which race and nationality are named and constructed through self-positioning and by the Other’s calling for the formation of nationality.

In short, it is important to note that readers should not take the presentation and advocacy of internationalism at face value, because the text itself is the contesting site for constructing and claiming nationalities by (re)ordering and (re)colonizing the Other. The colonial relationship is not directly determined by the existing categories of nationality but by the characters’ specific social and national relations. By arranging the marginality of the Other according to language, hygienic modernity, and racial value, the narrative establishes the centrality of the familiar to demarcate social, racial,

³⁷⁸Chŏng Sin Ch’ŏr (Zheng Xinzhe), *Chungguk Chosŏnjok: Kŭdŭl-ŭi mirae nŭn . . .* (Korean Chinese People: Their Future . . .), (Seoul: Sinin’gansa, 2004), 32-36. (The author of this book is a Korean Chinese, so I also include his Chinese name.)

and national boundaries for the formation of a homogeneous nation-state. In this process, the colonial relationship between the familiar and the stranger operates through their complicity in the formation of masculine, politicized subjects and their nationalities. This is another way to consider the intricate dynamic between colonizer and colonized in that the Russian boy underscores the timidity of the Other for the purpose of postulating his own intrepid nationality. In this sense, the formation and masculinization of his nationality can only be carried out through the feminization and disempowerment of the Other. In the case of Kaosuofu, the Chinese narrator's representation of his 'feminized' image stands in sharp contrast to his killings of the Japanese, let alone the construction of Chinese nationality through the juxtaposition of a grand narrative of Chinese history with gendered images and values of the Other.

However, at another deeper level, the feminization of the Other and the masculinization of the Self are intrinsically correlated and mutually constituted by the fact that the racial hybrid and the Korean immigrant have to respond to the familiar's call for the preservation of delicate but irreconcilable boundaries of culture, race and nationality. Guoli's political memory of his father and the Chinese narrator's recollection of the Korean historical and cultural icon have decisive effects on determining Guoli's political destiny as well as social life. At the same time, the colonizing processes *per se* conversely contain social alternatives and the potential for destabilizing and deconstructing nationalities, however implicit they are. Therefore, the verbal and visual representations of strangers and the narration of stories are nothing but an unavoidable knot in the tension between the construction of race and nationalities and the possibilities for deconstructing them. The circulation and the reception of the stories in cultural production in reality might yield a discursive range of responses to them.

(Dis)integrating Family and Nation: Multitudes of Nationalities, Cultural Capital, and Foreigners in Kim Man Sŏn's "Dual Nationalities"

Kim Man Sŏn's "Ijung gukchŏk" (Dual Nationalities) was written and published in 1946, just after Liberation, and it describes a Korean man's immigrant life in Manchuria, where he acquires Chinese nationality yet strategically straddles national borders by taking on multiple national identities in his relation to the Chinese and Japanese in Manchuria.³⁷⁹ While "Children without a Homeland" depicts Chinese and Russian perceptions of Koreans as a stateless people whose story is entirely controlled by the Chinese narrator, this work particularly presents how Koreans position themselves and how their identities become ambiguous in the multiethnic state. Despite the historical reality of the time in which Koreans were considered Japanese imperial subjects, Guoli is arrested on the grounds that he has no nation to belong to, in a Chinese writer's as well as the popular literary imagination. By contrast, "Dual Nationalities" represents the dual status of an immigrant Korean

³⁷⁹Hyun Ok Park has noted that this story was published in 1948. Park, *Two Dreams in One Bed*, 231 and 280. But the original manuscript, published in a journal, states that it was written on September 24 of 1946. Kwŏn, *Han'guk kŭndae munhak taegye*, 86.

I differentiate citizenship from nationality and use the latter throughout this section. Ghassan Hage points out that the state's grant of citizenship to new immigrants does not necessarily entail society's acceptance of them; "the acquisition of formal citizenship does not give any indication of the level of practical national belonging granted by the dominant cultural community" (50). Thus, he differentiates the terms "nationality," "practical nationality," and "national belonging" from citizenship, meaning "*institutional-political* acceptance" or formal/governmental belonging. Hage, *White Nation*, 51. (italics in the original text).

Alfred M. Boll also distinguishes between nationality and citizenship. The former refers to one's "[l]egal status in, or relationship with, a state giving rise to personal jurisdiction over the individual, and standing vis-a-vis other states under international law." The latter refers to "[p]ossession of the highest category of political rights/duties in municipal law." (60) Nationality has Roman origins and is related to one's belonging based on pedigree and territory. This notion was further developed in mediaeval Europe when the connection between individuals and authority was determined by land. He argues that nationality and citizenship cannot be interchangeable because "not all of a given state's nationals are its citizens." (70) For example, "the legal category of United-States non-citizen still exists, although it relates only to 'persons born in or having ties with' American Samoa and Swains Island . . ." (72) Alfred M. Boll, *Multiple Nationality and International Law* (Leiden and Boston: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 2007).

As examined in chapter one, Manchukuo possessed no nationality law, but the protagonist of the story has acquired Chinese nationality before 1932 and the term gukjŏk, meaning nationality, is used in the text. Thus, I also use the term nationality here and I pay attention both to historical reality and to the ways the text describes the relationship between one's nationality, cultural capital, and social and political life.

whose legal status as Chinese and social status as Korean are incommensurate, yet self-manageable for his own convenience in pursuit of economic benefits through his social life. The story encapsulates the ways in which an immigrant Korean subject's social and national identities can be forged and presented by his own needs. The work particularly problematizes the dominant idea of nationality in other short stories in which nationality is naturally given to members of the state by birth and often identified with Koreans' political proclivity and activity against Japanese colonialism.

In the epilogue of *Two Dreams in One Bed*, Hyun Ok Park introduces the story and reads it in terms of the correlation between colonialism and capitalism. It “represents adaptation as a survival strategy of a colonized subject living in the interstitial space between Chinese nationalism and Japanese colonialism — a subject devoid of loyalty to any nation.”³⁸⁰ The story depicts how a Korean man is obsessed with his capital, property, and land and makes a strenuous effort to preserve them through the management of his nationalities. Park's reading of the story is primarily founded upon her analytical framework of examining Koreans' social relations mediated by land and capitalism, and thus she maintains the existing categorization of colonizer and colonized according to nationality. For example, “[p]rotecting his own property is equivalent to defending his sovereignty over his labor of the past thirty years” and “his fearless defense of his property reveals a colonial subjectivity invented by the colonial power.”³⁸¹ Despite Park's illuminating observations about a colonial subject's role in the formation of colonial order and the development of capitalism in Manchukuo, in which the state ultimately aligns itself with global capitalism, her study still calls for a detailed examination of how racial and national boundaries are delineated and are at once managed and destabilized, depending on the characters' familial and social relationships with the other “foreigners” in the community. First,

³⁸⁰Park, *Two Dreams in One Bed*, 231.

³⁸¹*Ibid.*, 233.

Hyun Ok Park's use of the term "sovereignty" is problematic because this concept specifically pertains to a nation-state's power to govern its people, and it thus cannot be applied to the protagonist's concern about property and material possessions. Second, Park has addressed capital only in a material sense, neglecting to consider the cultural, symbolic capital that Elder Park, the main protagonist of the story, strives to acquire in order to claim his 'authentic' Chinese identity. Third, social relations among different racial groups and their characteristics in the space of Manchuria or the state of Manchukuo cannot be simply reduced to "Chinese nationalism and Japanese colonialism,"³⁸² since the boundary between colonizer and colonized is not entirely determined by a given nationality and can be blurred regardless of nationality. Moreover, Park's characterization of "Chinese nationalism and Japanese colonialism" obscures the inseparable interconnection between the two, thereby valorizing the workings of the dominant social force and its unifying notion of nationality. Rather, it is important to examine how Koreans and the Chinese perceive and interact with each other in the story and how the text describes the categories of peoples and nationalities, implicitly inscribing the author's idea of "native" and "foreign" and challenging the two boundaries.

Based on a close reading of the text and its narrative techniques, I discuss how Chinese and Koreans hold different ideas of family, home, and homeland associated with interracial relationships, dual nationalities, social status and gender. I further pursue the ways in which racial and national categories are delineated and the meaning of discrepancies between an individual's nationality and an individual's intention to be recognized by one's country of origin, as well as of an overlapping site where one's legal status, national belonging, and cultural capital work together. In addition, I address Elder Park's performing nationality and pursuit of cultural capital, and how

³⁸²Park, *Two Dreams in One Bed*, 231.

these activities determine an individual's social life at a time of decolonization and repatriation of Manchuria.³⁸³ Finally, I pay close attention to the role of the narrator and its intrusive remarks on how Chinese and Koreans both can be recognized as “foreigners,” thereby challenging the underlying logic by which racial and national boundaries are mapped.

Synopsis

The story starts with a radio announcement of the termination of war by Hirohito, the Japanese Emperor Shōwa. Elder Park, a Korean farmer whose Japanese is not proficient enough to understand Hirohito's speech mingled with weeping, learns of the war's end through his son, Myōng Hwan, who was born in Manchuria and learned Japanese at an early age.³⁸⁴ He and his son have different thoughts about returning to Korea. Whereas his son wants to return to their “homeland” to evade possible attack from the Chinese, Park is reluctant to do so because he lacks resources in Korea, resulting from his long migratory life in Manchuria. Park is more concerned about preserving his current property and collecting money from Kim, a Korean debtor who has already fled. Park firmly believes that he will not be attacked by the Chinese because he has already acquired Chinese nationality and he practices a Chinese lifestyle by speaking Chinese and wearing Chinese clothing. In addition, he is quite close to his neighbors and he lives far from the street where Chinese riots occur. Contrary to his expectation, though, the Chinese attack Korean as well as Japanese homes. Confronting infuriated Chinese looters who break windows with sticks, Park yells at them: “We are also Chinese. Why do you do this?” (62) A blow glances off

³⁸³The phrase “performing nationality” is inspired by Joseph May's *Nomadic Identities: The Performance of Citizenship* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999), which discusses citizenship as represented in art performance and film. Park's national identities are not fixed but change through his self-identification and his performances such as taking a Chinese concubine, wearing Chinese clothing, and speaking Chinese.

³⁸⁴Elder Park's first name is never revealed in the text, but he is called *parknoin*, signifying Elder Park. I use Park without “Elder” here.

Park's shoulder, and he runs to Wang's home. Wang is astounded that Park flees alone without knowing his other family members' whereabouts. Wang suggests that he and his family return to Korea before the Chinese become more agitated and violent. Meanwhile, Park goes to the house of Kim, his debtor, and brings some of Kim's important possessions into Wang's yard. Later, Park's son comes to Wang's place to look for his father, however, they are again assaulted by the Chinese army;³⁸⁵ Park is again regarded as Korean. Park begs for his life by taking his Chinese identity card out of his Chinese shirt pocket, but they simply ignore it. A Chinese soldier strikes a blow on Elder Park's head with the barrel of his gun; Park falls down and makes no movement. The soldier says, "*Wangba*" [son of a bitch]. "Soldiers frown, look back, and blink at Wang, implying he can finish things up at his will, and then they fade away with heavy steps into the darkness." (86)

Kim Man Sŏn's Literary Career and the Question of National Consciousness

Jeong Won-chai's essay, "A Study on the Transformations of Kim Man Sŏn's Literary World," divides Kim's literary activities into three stages: (1) before Liberation, with works such as "Hongsu" (Flood), published in 1940, which portrays commoners' humanistic love for other people and their feelings of solidarity; (2) after Liberation and before he left for North Korea, Kim's works primarily express his national and political consciousness and leftist ideology by depicting Koreans' repatriation from Manchuria to Korea, their inner psychological confusion, and their struggles to resettle in the homeland; and (3) during the Korean War (1950-1953) when as a military writer for North Korea, his works reflect animosity against the U.S.

³⁸⁵ The story does not mention specifically which Chinese army it is. Park shows his identity card to soldiers, but Park himself is not sure if they are Manchukuo's army or the Zhongyangjun, the C.C.P.'s army. (84-85) So I translate *kunin* (*junren*, in Chinese) as the Chinese army. Park also mentions that it is not easy to differentiate rioters from looters among the Chinese. (78)

army and admiration for popular heroism.³⁸⁶ Kim made his literary debut with “Flood” in 1940, but temporarily discontinued his creative writing before Liberation. He worked as a newspaperman for the Mansŏnilbo (Manchurian and Korean Daily) in Manchuria from 1941 to 1945. He returned to Korea and resumed his creative writing after Liberation. On the basis of his experiences in Manchuria, he published a series of literary works representing Koreans’ repatriation processes from Manchuria to the homeland, such as “Ijung gukjŏk” (Dual nationalities), “Han’gŭl kangsup’oe” (The Korean language class), and “Amnokkang” (The Yalu River). The first two works recount Koreans’ unstable status in Manchuria, where the Chinese behave violently toward them and the Japanese, and the Federation of Korean Residents of Manchuria does nothing to help. “The Yalu River” describes Koreans’ insecure status after repatriation. Chae argues that ““Ijung gukjŏk” represents the Koreans’ identity crisis in which they can become neither Chinese nor Japanese in Manchuria; it also reveals national consciousness resulting from Koreans’ sufferings under the Chinese, who identify Koreans with the Japanese. Chae also notes that Kim’s choice of a negative character is also closely tied to his aim to criticize national consciousness through such a character.

Chae’s article provides readers with helpful sources for understanding the development of Kim’s creative writing and his pressing concern over the instability of Koreans’ social and political lives. However, Chae’s discussion of Kim’s national consciousness has two main problems. First, her emphasis on Koreans’ suffering under the Chinese in Manchuria implies a victimization narrative common in colonial literature and thus posits Koreans’ colonized status as a whole, rather than questioning the unsettled boundaries between colonizer and colonized, according to race, class,

³⁸⁶Jeong Won-chai, “Kim Man Sŏn munhak segye-ŭi pyŏnmo yangsang yŏn’gu” (A study of the transformations of Kim Man Sŏn’s literary world), *Hyŏndae sosŏl yŏn’gu* (The Journal of Modern Korean Fiction Studies) 30 (June 2006): 93-113.

and gender. Second, it is still debatable whether the purpose of Kim's negative characters is to critique an undesirable aspect of 'Koreanness' in order to redress it and form a new national consciousness. Thus, I do not intend to examine this work in the existing category of Korean nationality, but rather to capture diverse modalities in which national boundaries are at once created, managed, and unsettled in the process of performing nationality and accumulating cultural capital in a multiethnic Manchuria.

(Dis)Integrating Family and Homeland: Between Survival and Fictiveness in the Relationship Between Korean Men and a Chinese Woman

As discussed in chapter one, family becomes a basic unit constituting the state, an entity that is under direct police surveillance through a regular reporting system. However, this story directly challenges the idea of family as an essential constituent of the state by revealing its precariousness and vulnerability at the critical historical junction in which the Manchukuo regime collapses and the Chinese majority attempt to wreak anger and vengeance on their oppressors. Park, the head of the family, does not adhere much to patriarchal norms, in which a father has absolute power to maintain the security of his home as a shelter and to protect and control the lives of other family members. Although he also places an order on his son and his son-in-law and makes them flee from rioters, he does not care about their safety at all; instead, his own life as well as his property and capital are his sole, overriding concerns. Rioters shout, "Attack that house, too, it is a Korean wretch's home." (67) Terrified by their blatantly antagonistic attitude and the escalating violence, he "runs into the house and shouts at his mouths-to-be-fed [family members] in his bewilderment, 'Children, by the gods! All of you go quickly to the bomb shelter in the side of the backyard and hide yourselves.' " (67) Thus, Myŏng Hwan, his wife, and their two children all run to the door of the kitchen that is connected to the back street. As the rioters approach,

Park cannot face them without doing anything and he thus shouts in Chinese. “We are also *chunggukin* [in Chinese, *zhongguoren*, denoting Chinese]. What are you guys doing?” (68) And then he runs away through the kitchen door and heads to Wang’s house. Seeing the corpses of a Japanese family killed by the Chinese, he feels that his own life is threatened. (69) Park thinks he can protect himself or be protected at Wang’s house, abandoning his concern for his son, son-in-law, and grandchildren. Wang is very astonished to learn of Park’s order for them to hide in the bomb shelter; that is not safe at all and practically equivalent to not hiding. He scolds him: “How come you ran away alone? If I were you, I would have died with them and I would never have been able to escape alone. You are an old man, so even if you die, you would not have any remorse.” (73-74) Park tosses about in bed at night and feels pangs of guilt because of Wang’s reproachful remark, all the while worrying and wondering if they really did hide in that shelter. He feels that his self-esteem is on the floor. (75)

In fact, implausibly and contrarily, Wang’s remark does lead Park to feel more concern about the security of his life and the future, showing that familial bonds and communal life are no longer significant. He thinks that the reason Wang mentions his family is his fear of hiding Park, surmising that Wang may secretly be communicating with the Chinese and devising a betrayal. (74) Moreover, the pricks of conscience in Park’s mind are more tied to the maintenance of his reputation, though he shows a small amount of anxiety about his family’s whereabouts. Ironically, Park uses his family first and foremost to save his own life at the time of the crisis, pleading to the rioters in earnest, “Excuse me, sir, please forgive me, please forgive me. I have many mouths to feed (*sin’gu*).” (85) Family here is defined as members who eat meals together, so Park’s first rationale for living is to support them as the head of the family. This final scene vividly encapsulates how a natural bond that was previously

disregarded is now affirmed and strategically mobilized at the patriarch's convenience in a time of exigency. The family is significant only when it is conducive to the accumulation of capital in the household. Park's official nationality is Chinese, but he has been living as a Korean or, more accurately put, *pandoin*, as a Japanese imperial subject from the Korean peninsula who lacks Japanese linguistic competence. Owing to his son's good command of Japanese, the son plays a mediator's role, and Park was able to introduce Chinese people's land to the Japanese. (71) The family members' existential significance is determined by the head of the family's need and desire for the accumulation of capital and property. Moreover, the accumulated capital is appropriated solely by the head of the family, not by anyone else in the family. Like capital, the family is established and deconstructed by the head at any time according to his need, highlighting how truly shaky and groundless its nature is.

While the text represents the composition of a family as driven by an individual's desire for securing his own life and property among its Korean members, it also shows how Park's interracial remarriage to a Chinese/Manchu woman increases his authenticity, along with his acquisition of Chinese nationality. Park thinks that: "[he] has a decent Chinese nationality, which demonstrates he has [already] been naturalized as Chinese. Since his first principal [Korean] wife died several years ago, he has a Chinese/Manchu woman as a concubine who will become his principal wife in place of the dead wife . . ." (70) The acquisition of legal Chinese nationality does not fully prove Park's authentic Chinese nationality; he still possesses a lack that must be filled by the cultural capital that a local, Chinese/Manchu woman provides.³⁸⁷ Thus,

³⁸⁷Drawing from Bourdieu, Hage notes, "Within the nation it is national belonging that constitutes the symbolic capital of the field. That is, the aim of accumulating national capital is precisely to covert it into national belonging; to have your accumulated national capital recognized as legitimately national by the dominant cultural grouping within the field. . . . [N]ational belonging *tends* to be proportional to accumulated national capital. That is, there is a tendency for a national subject to be perceived as much as of a national as the amount of national capital he or she has accumulated." Hage, *White Nation*, 53 (emphasis in the original text).

a colonized local woman is used as a legitimate means to enhance a colonized immigrant man's social status in the community. In order for Park to officially acquire her symbolic national capital, not only does their relationship have to be sanctioned by the state in the form of the institution of marriage, but it also requires approval from his family members, stemming from the difference of national origins. Park and his son disagree about where to go to escape from the current geopolitical instability in which the U.S.S.R. attacks the Japanese as well as the Chinese, who are targeted wrongly, and the Chinese attack the Japanese as well as the Koreans. His son insists they move to Koyusu, whereas Park insists that they all move to his farm in the countryside where his Chinese concubine lives, 30 *li* away. In the end, his son turns down Park's plan to move to the farm so that Park will not take the Chinese woman as his principal wife. (76) The absence of the Chinese concubine's own voice throughout the text signifies that her side of the story is completely controlled, because of her subordinate status by gender and her racial and national status within the family, by Park and his son,.

On the one hand, the Chinese woman's nationality itself is the symbolic national capital she possesses and she can thus fulfill Park's desire for more Chinese national capital, increasing his claim for more authentic Chinese nationality. On the other hand, his son believes she should not be taken as his principle wife simply because she is not Korean; this is the underlying logic of a male-centered familial order against a Chinese woman behind the son's racial thinking. In this regard, the role of the head of the family is in turn superseded by the son, and he becomes the final agent to determine the composition of the family as rearranged by nationality and gender. The Chinese woman's racial status is subordinated to the Korean man in the family and thus the colonial order is reconfigured by a Korean colonial subject, revealing the retention of the male-centered order in the family structure in an

interracial relationship. The hierarchal rearrangement of the Chinese woman clearly illustrates that “racism and sexism function together and in particular, *racism always presupposes sexism*.”³⁸⁸

Myōng Hwan’s attitude toward the homeland, Korea, is also diametrically opposed to his father’s ambiguous relationship with it. He was born in Manchuria and visited it a couple of times when there were big family occasions at his uncle’s place, so he has a strong desire to return to Korea to live. However, Park argues against his son and says:

Are you saying return to Korea to live? That’s also good, but what kind of resources would we rely on to live there! Since we have been roaming about [Manchuria] for decades, we need to have something at our back in the homeland. I cannot think of returning yet. If one can live well in any place, then it is fine; we have been living well so far. By the way, now we can live without Japanese rule, can’t we? (61)³⁸⁹

The father perceives his homeland as a place without resources and thus his sense of belonging is not naturally a given but can be changed, depending upon the material basis for living of that place, thereby challenging the fixity of homeland according to birth place and the ancestral pedigree. Hence, Myōng Hwan’s desire to return to Korea as his homeland derives from never having lived in Korea, in contrast with his father. Japan’s defeat not only liberates him from the unrelenting fear of being conscripted, but it also leads him not to care about Kim’s repayment of his debt, which he considers a trivial matter. He thinks, “What if one really does not repay about twenty thousand *won*? Is not Chosŏn (Korea) already liberated . . . ?” (63) Myōng Hwan’s desire to return is affirmed and conflated by his spatial and temporal identification with the homeland because his sense of historical time flows in accordance with a liberated Korea. His desire to return embodies his physical presence inside the

³⁸⁸Balibar, *Race, Nation, Class: Ambiguous Identities*, 49. (italics in the original text)

³⁸⁹Hyun Ok Park also quotes this passage: “Disapproving of his son’s desire to return to Korea, he states that ‘any place is a good place if one can live well.’” Park, *Two Dreams in One Bed*, 232.

territory of the homeland with the coequality of Korea's historical time. Moreover, his desire to imagine what his life would be like in the homeland shapes his image of the homeland, the country of his father's origin. The father's disregard for his own origin and the son's quest for it as a final destination stand in sharp contrast, yet at the same time the juxtaposition of this difference significantly inscribes the fictive nature of national identity and family, both of which are socially constructed and function as bases for forming the nation. The text reveals two opposing yet interrelating ideas of family and homeland, whose meanings are defined by each family member's own positions and needs. By displaying how familial relations founded on natural bonds are so easily shattered, the story insinuates the fictive nature of the formation of family, homeland, and nation resulting from the social and national imagination. As Balibar maintains, neither nation nor national identity are actually based on race or ethnicity, but are fictive entities forged by all humans themselves. He argues:

No nation, that is, no national state has an ethnic basis, which means that nationalism cannot be defined as an ethnocentric except precisely in the sense of the product of a *fictive* [emphasis in the original text] identity. To reason any other way would be to forget that 'peoples' do not exist naturally any more than 'races' do, either by virtue of their ancestry, a community of culture or pre-existing interests. But they do have to institute in real (and therefore in historical) time their imaginary unity against other possible unities.³⁹⁰

The father is more concerned with his present life and property in Manchuria, and thus his mode of capitalist living has priority over the historical time of the homeland because he does not have any cultural capital vested in the past. However, the son's real and historical time is manifested by his imagination of his future life in the homeland based on his ancestral tie. Therefore, the father's capitalist time and lack of belonging to the family and homeland are remarkably contrasted to the son's spatial and temporal identification with the homeland originating from his familial tie. The

³⁹⁰Balibar, "Racism and Nationalism," in *Race, Nation, Class: Ambiguous Identities*, Balibar and Wallerstein, 49.

father's own mode of time, solely concerned with capital and property in the present, can function as a counterforce to resist the son's formation of national belonging and identity that derives from the past. In this regard, the text does not so much represent and critique negative aspects of Koreanness through the character of the father in order to form a new sense of national consciousness as it problematizes an inevitable tension between capitalist time and imagined national time. They can oppose each other, even among family members, thus revealing the fictive nature of any institutional formation of family and nation, both of which can be constructive and deconstructive to nation building at the same time.

Performing Nationality: Multitudes of Nationality, Cultural Capital, and Foreigners

“Dōkōsha” (A Companion) depicts Shin's inner struggle to locate his national identity among Chinese, Japanese, and Koreans, and greatly captures his in-betweenness and the ambiguity of his identities, none of which can be defined as a dominant or hegemonic one. In a similar vein, “Dual Nationalities” shows that a person's actual legal status and performed national status do not conflict with each other in managing an immigrant's social life in a local community, though the story ends by depicting the incompatibility between the two. As discussed earlier, in historical reality, Koreans were still defined as Japanese imperial subjects yet were not treated as equal to Japanese in tax law after the abolition of extraterritoriality in 1936, demonstrating their subordinate status as colonial subjects.³⁹¹ Hyun Ok Park also argues, “Dual nationality represented the incompatibility of national membership in the Korean and Manchukuo states rather than enjoyment of membership in both.”³⁹²

³⁹¹Shin, “The Abolition of Extraterritoriality Rights and Perceptions of Koreans in Manchuria,” 80.

³⁹²Park, *Two Dreams in One Bed*, 137.

However, the story exactly describes how a person's nationality as both a legal status and a performance are compatible and can be managed.

To begin with, like Park's inconsistent idea of his family, his self-identification with nationalities is also constantly changing, largely depending on the social and historical situations in which he has to position himself for other people as well as for himself. Anxious about being attacked by Chinese rioters, Park goes to Wang's place and mumbles, "They call me *gaoli bangzi* [a derogative term referring to Koreans, literally meaning a Korean pauper]! I am a Chinese, *chungguk saram* [in Chinese, *zhongguoren*] . . ." (70) The reason why he was naturalized as a Chinese before 1932 is that he felt that his livelihood was threatened day after day if he did not collaborate with the Japanese. Before the establishment of Manchukuo, he put his identity card [in the pocket] over his chest; after 1932 he puts it in a box at home.³⁹³ In reality, he pretends to be a Korean or, more accurately, a Japanese from the Korean peninsula, when he serves as a broker between Japanese buyers and Chinese sellers in land trade while cultivating his land as a farmer. It is more adventuresome and lucrative if he hides his Chinese naturalization. However, he starts keeping his old identity card inside the pocket of his jacket. "Anyway, whatever his motivations are, he must be Chinese. Therefore, he does not understand why he has to be attacked by the Chinese in spite of the fact that he is Chinese." (72)

As addressed in chapter one, the police put the social lives of all the people of Manchukuo under direct surveillance and carried out inspections of "normal" people every six months for the purpose of maintaining public order and state security.³⁹⁴ Since the stipulations of the police functioned exactly like the fine meshes of the law,

³⁹³Hyun Ok Park has translated this into "the certificate of naturalization." Ibid., 232. In historical reality, Koreans without identity cards in Manchuria at that time were not able to hold security rights when it came to land trade. Seen in this context, Elder Park's earning the Chinese identity card is an indispensable means for him to survive. Park, *Two Dreams in One Bed*, 41.

³⁹⁴Guowuyuan fazhiju, *Manzhouguo faling jilan* (Series of laws and regulations of Manchukuo) (Xinjing (Changchun): Manzhou xingzheng xuehui, 1937), 830-831.

the police of Manchukuo, a major government apparatus of control, systematically governed every aspect of the lives of her people, including non-nationals, i.e., stateless peoples or peoples without nationality. Within this historical context, Park has two possibilities for identifying and registering his social status in terms of ethnic origins and nationality: (1) he can register as a Chinese in the family register using the Chinese nationality card he acquired before 1932; or (2) he can also register as a Korean if the police do not check his nationality or identity card. It is likely that Manchukuo did not establish and enforce nationality laws but did classify peoples according to racial and national backgrounds. Also, the nationality or identity card Park holds was issued by the Chinese warlord regime before the establishment of Manchukuo, so even if he were to show this card to the police of Manchukuo, it would not be valid. In this regard, Park's multiple identities and self-proclaimed legal status provide a window into the coercive and regulative aspects of family census and reporting systems, and how subjects manage their flexible identities by rejecting official categorizations.

Jon Agar's study, "Modern Horrors: British Identity and Identity Cards," examines how the enforcement of the National Register system during the Great War (1914-1919) was closely connected to the formation of a "Britishness" that was interchangeable with "Englishness" and opposed to the character of "Germanness" from 1915-1952. At the same time, this "Britishness" was managed by the British people for their own needs, suggesting the people's rejection of the fixity of one unitary, official identity and the creative manipulation of the regulatory system. During the Great War, the National Register system was implemented to facilitate conscription and was also useful to industry, yet was terminated shortly afterward, since carrying identity cards then was perceived as "Prussian," marked as "bullying"

or “militarism.”³⁹⁵ During WWII, British people actively took on more than one official identity in order to receive more food rations, though that was considered fraud. In the 1940s, monogamy was threatened by men’s dislocation from their families during war, and thus the state initiated anti-bigamy campaigns, with tactics such as leaving warning messages at the Register Office, for bigamy was taken as a symptom of a foreign culture. Ironically enough, the state relied on “Prussian” governing technologies to deal with this foreign practice, which in fact bespeaks the impossibility of one dominant, unitary notion of official identity.³⁹⁶

Along the same lines, Park’s multiple identities—straddling Chinese, Korean as a Korean immigrant, and Korean as a Japanese imperial subject—can be seen as an attempt to reject the state’s monolithic classification of the peoples in the multiethnic state, as well as his strategic management of various identities to pursue more lucrative opportunities and material profit. By representing the time before Manchukuo enacted nationality laws, the story persuasively problematizes the processes by which categorizations of people are at once complicated by the national subjects themselves, as well as by a fundamental flaw of the system itself; the state did not enact nationality laws, yet individuals pretended to have nationality and national identity based on their previous legal status, which was in fact invalid due to the change from the Chinese northern warlord regime to Manchukuo. Moreover, the state attempted to shape Manchukuo identity, but Park identifies himself as Chinese, not as belonging to Manchukuo. Throughout the text, he never identifies himself as a national of Manchukuo but as a Chinese, whose legal status is defined and fixed as such by the former regime, not the current one. Thus, Park’s legal status and his national identity as a Chinese derive from the previous regime which undermines the

³⁹⁵ Jon Agar, “Modern Horrors: British Identity and Identity Cards,” in *Documenting Individual Identity: the Development of State Practices in the Modern World*, Jane Caplan and John Torpey, eds., (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), 103.

³⁹⁶ Ibid., 101-120.

current state's bureaucratic power to form unifying, collective national identity.³⁹⁷ In this regard, Park's self-identification exemplifies both the power and insignificance of documentation, in that the identity card he holds legitimizes his legal status as Chinese yet turns out to be absolutely nugatory, like a blank sheet of paper, without any legal force in the end.

Not only does the text represent legally compatible yet rejected aspects of Park's *de jure* nationality, which was only valid in the former regime, and of his *de facto* performed national identity, but it also features an inseparable tie between nationality and cultural and national capital.³⁹⁸ Park's Chinese nationality and legal status alone are not sufficient to claim his Chinese national identity; he requires Chinese national and cultural capital to impart more authenticity to his Chinese nationality.

He always admonishes all the family members to wear Chinese/Manchurian casual clothing (*manjuot*) and he himself practices it. In addition, he is proficient in the Chinese language (*manō*) that he has studied for 30 years. [With his legal nationality and all these accomplishments], he expects that even if he encounters rioters, he would have more ways to escape their attack than other people.³⁹⁹

In the passage above, the narrator describes Chinese clothing and the Chinese language as Manchurian ones in Korean, using terms different from those that define Park's legal status as a Chinese (in Korean, *junggukin*, or in Chinese, *zhongguoren*). On the one hand, this difference can reflect Koreans' ways of referring to Chinese language and culture, since in most cases, any word associated with Manchuria, *manju* (*manzhou* in Chinese), can also refer to the Chinese majority in the multiethnic state.

³⁹⁷Given the political propaganda of the "harmony of the five races," his identification as Chinese can be seen as identification as one of the five races within Manchukuo; however, his idea of being Chinese is associated more with the former regime, which officially granted his Chinese nationality, rather than with the current one in Manchukuo.

³⁹⁸A note: Park's Chinese and Korean identities are compatible until the Chinese define him as Korean; in the end, he is defined as Korean. At this point, they become incompatible.

³⁹⁹Kim, "Dual Nationalities," 66-67.

Given that there were no consistent terms defining Koreans at the time, Koreans similarly used diverse terms to indicate the Chinese and their culture. This can be viewed as the narrator's deliberate word choice for indicating the intersectionality between legal nationality and cultural and national capital, neither of which can be separated from the other. Like Park's Chinese concubine, the authenticity of his legal nationality should be accompanied and supported by his attainment of national culture.

Hage pertinently points out:

Migrants arriving in a new nation can accumulate nationality by acquiring the language, the accent, duration of residence, mastering national-specific cultural practices, etc. – in other words, by assimilating. The extent to which they can actually accumulate national capital is linked to cultural possessions and dispositions (what Bourdieu calls 'habitus' – one's historically acquired structure of the personality) they bring with them. It obviously makes a difference whether one already possesses a certain amount of cultural capital by being born to a cultural group or a class (in the socioeconomic sense) that makes one already in possession of important elements of the dominant national capital.⁴⁰⁰

As a new immigrant, Park lacks Chinese cultural capital so he has to acquire it to become a more authentic Chinese. However, given the ending of the story, Park has not accumulated enough Chinese cultural capital to empower himself and claim a Chinese national identity. No matter how long he stays in Manchuria, speaks Chinese, and wears Chinese clothing, this cultural capital does not turn into national capital, as long as the actual classifications of peoples are carried out on the basis of their original ethnic backgrounds. Despite Park's legal and cultural naturalization into Chinese and his self-identification as Chinese, in the end, he is identified as Korean by a Korean woman's skirt, brought from a drawer of a cedar chest in Kim's place to Wang's as a way of redeeming Kim's debt to Park. (83) The punch line of the story lies in the ultimate role of cultural and national capital and its absolute power in identifying

⁴⁰⁰Hage, *White Nation*, 54.

peoples' nationalities: Korean clothing and culture that are discarded to accumulate Chinese cultural and national capital become the final factor determining Park's national identity. Seen from the opposite angle, the identity document alone does not ensure and guarantee a person's legal nationality; cultural and national capital can also function as documents with equally coercive and regulative power in a time of historical exigency. At the same time, even if people have legal nationality, this does not mean that they can be protected by law in a time of war and in territories without nationality law like Manchukuo.

As mentioned earlier, Manchukuo upheld no nationality laws. Without this historical context, Park's identity card significantly illustrates how someone's natural life can be situated at a threshold where law and nature are indistinguishable, like exiled Russians during decolonization and repatriation, as elucidated by Agamben. Park's natural life cannot be protected by his nationality, despite the fact that he is already fully naturalized as Chinese, thus disclosing the vulnerability of foreign immigrants at the hands of the Chinese majority in Manchuria. The ending of the story also clearly exemplifies the ways in which people's identification based on cultural and national capital drives other groups to punish them, exposing their bodies to resentful and violent rioters "without morality." (72) Suppose Park's Chinese nationality and his identity card were still valid in Manchukuo, then the ending would emphasize the possibility that a person's official legal status, a basic yet powerful means of protection, is always in constant threat of being reclassified and recategorized in a certain way; it can easily be changed into the status of nature, stemming from the person's original cultural and national capital that the individual was born with. Nationality cannot be divorced from cultural and national capital, but the latter can often function exactly like nationality, an absolute marker that can determine someone's destiny in social and political life. Cultural and national capital

become the final criteria for determining nationality in which an individual's natural life can be punished and ended on the basis of a person's national origins.⁴⁰¹ Therefore, the text profoundly reflects upon the absolute power of cultural and national capital as a marker and the embodiment of a person's nationality in determining an immigrant's social and political life in a host country at the historical juncture of decolonization.

The narrator also uses the term, "a foreigner," referring to both Wang and Park, instead of using other terms that indicate their nationality or ethnic background. "Having a foreigner like Park as a friend has been a good thing, but . . ." (72) This remark is narrated from the Chinese man's perspective. Like Wang, Park himself thinks, "Wang is an elderly foreigner." (77) This sentence is narrated from the 'non-Chinese' man's perspective. When Wang makes a comment about rioters, the narrator adds an editorial remark, "They are not humans but merely scoundrels without morality who do not know honor." Wang makes an excuse with an embarrassed look on his face, like the foreigner he is. (72) By using the term 'foreigner' to refer to both Wang and Park, the narrator seems to question territorial and national borders in which people claim their most authentic nationality and privileged status from their countries of origins. In the space of Manchuria, a man within the territory of China or Manchukuo can be a foreigner to a person from the Korean peninsula; in turn, a man from Korea or Chosŏn, a colony of Japan, is a foreigner to a Chinese in the territory of Manchukuo or China. The blurring of the borders between natives and foreigners also calls into question the mechanism of producing a meaning about a space which tends to be identified as an individual's national origin. Space and people can all be foreign, despite any cultural and national values, and any border can be arbitrary; being foreign

⁴⁰¹This part is drawn from Agamben's discussion of the structure of sovereignty and its relation to bare, natural life. Giorgio Agamben, *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life*, trans. Daniel Heller-Roazen (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998).

signifies an unfamiliar, ambiguous, uncertain status resisting any territorial, racial, and national categorizations.

At a surface level, this work narrates what seems to be a historical reality and multicultural and national contacts between different groups of peoples. However, Park's management of his multiple nationalities is not merely related to capitalism, mediated by land, labor, property, and capital, but is also about how cultural and national capital fundamentally works in determining a person's nationality in a material and symbolic sense, which is also integral part of capitalism. At a deeper level, the core of narration also contests modes of thinking in which family, homeland, and nation are formed, while inscribing the very potentiality resistant to such social formation by calling into question the boundaries of people and space; the status of being foreign stands for a sense of being and a symbolic spatiality as something culturally and nationally unidentifiable. In short, the text significantly indicates the correlative workings of capitalism and nationalism in which the two function as constitutive social forces yet simultaneously generate a disintegrative impact upon their formation and cohesion.

Conclusion

Chapter three has examined fictional representations of Koreans with regard to clothing, homeland, and nationality, written by both Chinese and immigrant Korean writers in Manchuria during the Manchukuo period and after Liberation. Above all, this chapter has found that the boundary between colonizer and colonized is never fixed and is constantly changing, regardless of an individual's country of origin, according to taste, hygiene status, language competence, class, gender, etc. in the metropolis of Japan and in Manchuria in literature. Although the colonial order was imposed by the Japanese Empire, 'the colonized' themselves have created their own

racial mapping and hierarchy based on the idea of civilization, modernity, fashion, and language proficiency as markers of social, racial, and national distinctions. In Mei Niang's "Overseas Peoples," a colonized woman reveals her latent imperial desire, which leads her to identify herself with Japan proper and its hegemony in the realm of taste and fashion, thereby internalizing and reproducing the colonial order of peoples and things. The intricate dynamics of racial and cultural relationship between colonizer and colonized are further complicated and restructured by a Korean immigrant's male-centered racial order against a local Chinese woman. The colonized Korean man needs a local Chinese woman to elevate his social status through her cultural and national capital, but she cannot be included and accepted as a member of his family due to the racial and gender hierarchy established by the colonized. This asymmetrical gender relation not only accentuates the woman's marginality within the family, where she is defined and approved by males, but in fact it also embodies a double structure of social relations among non-colonizers in conjunction with gender; ultimately, colonial order and gender order are mutually interdependent and work side by side to turn them into passive, disempowered objects. In the formation of this order, the Korean man also projects his inner colonial desire upon the Chinese woman in Manchuria, corresponding to the Chinese woman's gaze, full of her subtle yet discriminatory feelings and judgmental gazes toward the Korean immigrant couple, which is a pure imagination and speculation of her own. This event also demonstrates that colonial order and gender hierarchy can also be restructured by both male and female colonized subjects. In this light, boundary making is always contingent upon specific social and historical contexts at the historical juncture of colonization and decolonization in which people have racial encounters with others, and is not identical with the existing categorization according to nationality.

At the same time, however, the works also intrinsically inscribe possibilities of boundary crossing and rejection of fixation. They show how people strategically alter their racial and national identities through clothing and by performing nationality for survival, which forces them to reposition themselves when others define them in one dominant way. Nonetheless, the sartorial practice of concealment and disclosure of nationality offers an important reference point for the relationship between the origin and the replica and their hierarchical mapping, and the way they create essentialized, closed, and fixed meanings for dominance. In tandem with this profound reflection upon an individual's original, authentic identity and simulated identity, both of which cannot fully represent a real, true self, the ideas of family and homeland are fundamentally challenged by immigrants with their ambiguous relationship with the homeland, although they also possess the tendency to connect to a homeland based on ancestral ties.

More significantly, designating both the Chinese man and the Korean man as foreigners not only bespeaks the fictive nature of any national identity formation, but it also envisions social and spatial formations in which space and people are not identified by any particular dominant notion of national and spatial characteristics. In this regard, the space of Manchuria in literary imagination *per se* can serve as a symbolic site where the status of being and becoming is all foreign, with an always ambiguous and unstable quality that is resistant to identification, essentialization, homogeneity, and dominance. Thus, on the one hand, the writers' stories are an effective means to express their pressing historical agendas; on the other hand, the very history they attempt to represent and structure with particular aims is unsettled by the process of storytelling itself, which they may not necessarily have intended. This writing process generates an unexpected, disruptive effect upon the formation of national history and identity and offers a fresh perspective from which to look into

colonial literature. Ironically, colonial experience provided a fertile ground for envisioning the possibility of deconstructing nationality and national history through their own media. Thus, at a deeper level, the significance of Manchurian literature by Chinese and immigrant Korean writers lies in this possibility to imagine and flesh out multivalent modes of thinking that overcome social mechanisms of boundary-making in the creative writings. The stories implicitly inscribe within themselves the social and cultural lability, even if they are often couched in intrinsically antinomical form and in ambiguous and fluctuating terms.

CHAPTER 4:
**RELIVING THE COLONIAL PAST: DIETARY IMAGINATION, SOCIAL
EATING, AND THE PROBLEM OF NARRATION IN TAIWANESE
MEMORIES OF MANCHUKUO**

This chapter examines “Taiwanese experiences of Manchukuo,” primarily based on the reading of *Rizhi shiqi zai manzhou de taiwanren* (Taiwanese People in Manchuria during Japanese rule), a collection of personal memories of the colonial past recorded by Xu Xueji and three other researchers.⁴⁰² This book was published in Taiwan in 2002 after more than half a century had passed since the end of Japanese colonial rule. I have chosen this text because of the relative scarcity of literary works representing Taiwanese people’s experiences of Japanese colonialism in Manchukuo.⁴⁰³ While the previous chapters have addressed racial and social formations represented in fiction, this chapter discusses Taiwanese memories of life in Manchukuo, exemplifying the processes in which oral histories were collected and transformed into written history.

⁴⁰²Xu Xueji, record. *Rizhi shiqi zai manzhou de taiwanren* (*Taiwanese Experiences in Manchuria During the Japan Occupation*, translation in the original text) (Taipei: Zhonggyang yanjiuyuan jindai yanjiusuo, 2002). Xu’s introduction to the text, “Taiwanjin no manshū keiken” (Taiwanese experiences of Manchukuo), uses this phrase as the title. See Xu’s article published in *Shokuminchi bunka kenkyū: shiryō to bunseki* (Study of cultures of colonies: material and analysis) (Urayasu: Shokuminchi bunka kenkyukai, 2002), 172.

⁴⁰³Taiwanese and Japanese literary critics’ recent reexamination of Taiwanese literature of Japanese imperial subjects and their imperialization or Japanization, *kōmin* literature written by Taiwanese writers in the 1940s is well addressed in Leo Ching’s critical review of them in its close connection to *dōka*, assimilation. See, Leo Ching, ““Give me Japan and Nothing Else!”: Postcoloniality, Identity, and the Traces of Colonialism,” *Japan after Japan: Social and Cultural Life from the Recessionary 1990s to the Present*, ed. Tomiko Yoda and Harry Harootunian, (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2006), 142-166. Also, Faye Yuan, Kleeman, *Under an Imperial Sun: Japanese Colonial Literature of Taiwan and the South* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2003), 119-227. Regarding Taiwanese experiences of Japanese colonialism in Manchukuo and their encounter with Koreans there, particularly on the literary works by Zhong Lihe, see Park Jae-woo, “Ilchesigi Han’gukkwa taeman munhwa sangho jangyong ūi ttotālūn konggan: Zhong Lihe manju ch’ehōmkwa hanincheje sosŏl ‘pōdūnamu kūnū’ ūi ūiūi,” (Another space for the interactions of Korean and Taiwanese cultures during the Japanese rule: Zhong Lihe’s experiences of Manchuria and the significance of “A Shadow of a Willow Tree”) *Oeguk munhak* (*Foreign Literature Studies*, translation in the original text) 25 (February 2007): 109-133. However, Park notes that Zhong’s “Liuyin” (A Shadow of a Willow Tree) was written in 1939 and then was revised in 1954. Park, *Ibid.*, 116. Thus, I do not include this work for my dissertation research here.

Documenting a remembered colonial past creates an unavoidable temporal gap between the experience and the narration, as well as relocating subjects, who return to their “homeland” when they unravel the unheard and unheeded skeins of their stories about Manchuria. This book’s distinctive narrative form in time and space makes memory and subject location paramount, for both the historians and the storytellers, who are describing their understanding of the colonial past.⁴⁰⁴ The subjectivity of memory and the process of documentation signify that history becomes an interconnected yet contested site where oral history and more formal, documented history are simultaneously presented and formed, thereby questioning the boundaries between the two.

However, I do not intend to dwell primarily on the emergence of memory and trauma and their significance as new modes of historiography in academia.⁴⁰⁵ I attempt to limit my reading of the text to the specificity of Taiwanese experiences of colonialism in Manchukuo and to capture its distinctive nature of narrating the colonial past in terms of racial and cultural relations with other ethnic groups. Unlike most trauma narratives that commonly involve mass killings of innocent people and tremendous atrocity perpetrated upon victims, the peculiarity of Taiwanese

⁴⁰⁴LaCapra specifically enumerates a variety of possible subject positions in the field of studying the Holocaust: [w]hether the historian or analyst is a survivor, a relative of survivors, a former Nazi, a former collaborator, a relative of former Nazis or collaborators, a younger Jew or German distanced from more immediate contact with survival, participation, or collaboration, or a relative “outsider” to these problems will make a difference even in the meaning of statements that are formally identical.” The pertinence of statements would depend on subject positions. Dominick LaCapra, “Representing the Holocaust: Reflections on the Historians’ Debate,” *Probing the Limits of Representation: Nazism and the Final Solution*, ed. Saul Friedlander (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1992), 110.

⁴⁰⁵Regarding the origins of the emergence of memory and memory discourse in academia, see Kerwin Lee Klein, “On the Emergence of *Memory* in Historical Discourse,” *Representations* 69 (Winter 2000): 127-150. He concludes that memory is used as a supplement for history and that this phenomenon and prevalence of memory reflect historians’ search for a new alternative framework to replace historical discourse. *Ibid.*, 145. In addition, Lisa Yoneyama opposes the dichotomy between history and memory and attempts to see how they are produced through the exercise of power within certain contexts. She states: “I employ the concept of memory to emphasize knowing the past cannot be divorced from the contexts within which retrospections on the past occur.” Lisa Yoneyama, *Hiroshima Traces: Time, Space, and the Dialectics of Memory* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1999), 27-28.

experiences in Manchukuo is connected to their privileged social status within the state. Although they also witnessed killings of other peoples and went through different degrees of hardships, adversity, and racial discrimination as second-class imperial subjects similar to Koreans in Manchuria at that time, most Taiwanese people were members of the educated elite with college or graduate degrees and were engaged in professional occupations such as medicine, teaching, research, translation, telegraphy, etc.⁴⁰⁶ There were some housewives who took care of their own housework, but their husbands were mostly quite well-to-do and held relatively high social status in the cities where they lived.⁴⁰⁷ Moreover, they moved to Manchuria directly from either Taiwan or Japan, or first went to Japan then to Manchuria, sometimes via Korea. Their relocation to different regions signifies more than just physical movement of people; rather, it marks their relational positioning as colonial subjects in relation to other people in material, cultural, and national settings in Manchukuo, which politically is akin to a colony like Taiwan.

In this regard, these narratives of Taiwanese experiences of Japanese colonial rule in Manchukuo particularly exemplify social and historical processes of producing the colonial past, problems of class perspective, and colonized people's positionality in one part of the Japanese Empire.⁴⁰⁸ In other words, why and how do certain,

⁴⁰⁶Throughout the text, Taiwanese people witnessed more killings of Japanese and Koreans by the Chinese and the U.S.S.R. troops than Taiwanese people by both. To be sure, this in part has to do with their ambiguous national status as Chinese in Manchuria after 1945, but the book only presents the stories of living people, so readers may have no chance to hear about killings of the Taiwanese. Thus, the nature of sources determines the very kind of information, precisely revealing their limitations.

⁴⁰⁷This is a brief summary from the text of Taiwanese occupations and level of education. In addition, Chen Yongxiang, who worked for the Manzhou company in the department of long-distance calls, also mentioned that there were five thousand Taiwanese people in Manchukuo, and most of them were intellectuals who had received higher education. Xu, *Rizhi shiqi zai manzhou de taiwanren*, 495. Xu also summarizes Taiwanese people's activities, particularly people with high social status, in her introduction to the text, "Taiwanjin no manshū keiken" (Taiwanese experiences of Manchukuo), *Shokuminchi bunka kenkyū: shiryō to bunseki* (Study of cultures of colonies: material and analysis) (Urayasu: Shokuminchi bunka kenkyukai, 2002), 175. Bian Fengkui also mentions types of people who went to Manchuria based on Xu's book, see *Riju shiqi Taiwan jimin zai dalu ji dongnanya huodong zhi yanjiu, 1895-1945* (A Study of Taiwanese People's Activities in Mainland China and Southeast Asia During the Japanese Occupation, 1895-1945) (Hefei: Huangshan shushe, 2006), 68-74.

⁴⁰⁸Regarding the Korean experiences of Hiroshima, see Yoneyama, *Hiroshima Traces*, 151-186.

selected groups of people recall their memories of the past and present them to readers in their country of origin at a particular historical time? Why do they remember certain colonial experiences yet forget or do not talk about others, and what are the significance of these omissions and the effects of these testimonial activities in knowledge production? In particular, Taiwanese people often mention white rice, one of the most important dietary items as staple food, to define their social and national identity, yet they describe it inconsistently. Much like clothing, they primarily used food metaphorically and metonymically to differentiate themselves from Mainland Chinese, Koreans, and Russians, though they often identified with the Japanese.⁴⁰⁹ In the following discussion, I address the ways in which food items, white rice, and particular tastes are remembered and represented in their narration of racial and social status in Manchukuo. By discussing recurring yet incongruent memories of food, I explore wide ranges of gaps between personal recollections and representations of food and the material and historical ‘reality’ of the time as documented by the food rationing system and its relation to the five races. I hope to show that these evocations of the colonial past question the existing, axiomatic views of colonial order and rule and capture the very historical moments in which knowledge of the past is constructed and its authenticity and creditability are at once contested, thereby fundamentally problematizing processes and meanings of knowledge production in writing a national history.

⁴⁰⁹Regarding representations and meanings of hunger and food in modern Chinese literature, see David Wang’s chapter, “Three Hungry Women,” examining Lu Ling, Zhang Ailing (Eileen Chang), and Chen Yingzhen’s depictions of female desire, destiny, and social milieu of the time on both thematic and narrative levels. David Der-wei Wang, *The Monster That Is History: History, Violence, and Fiction Writing in Twentieth-Century China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), 117-147.

The Origin of the Text and the Problem of the Position of the Subject in Narrating History

Above all, Xu's introduction to the text published in *Shokuminchi bunka kenkyū* (Study of Cultures of Colonies) not only tells readers about the origin of the book, but it also shows how the author's position as a historian can be related to the ways of remembering and narrating the colonial past. The author accidentally discovers the existence of Taiwanese people who lived in Manchukuo while interviewing victims of the February Twenty-eighth Incident of 1947 and their families, one of whom is a graduate of the College of the National Foundation (Jianguo daxue) in Manchukuo. She was motivated to begin this project because first, she was intrigued by this unknown past and launched it to collect and record their experiences. Second, she notes that the Taiwanese people were discriminated against as Japanese colonial subjects in Manchukuo, but most of them were doctors and government officials whose social status was quite different from Taiwanese people in the Southern part of China, where they were called "vicious Taiwanese running dogs."⁴¹⁰ The Taiwanese in Manchukuo neither exhibited wanton conduct, nor exploited local people, but they contributed to the building of the Northeast region, which, Xu thinks, is worth researching. Third, discussions of Taiwanese people's overseas activities during the Japanese colonial period have been focused mainly on the people joining the K.M.T. which governed in Chongqing, whereas Manchukuo has received little scholarly attention. Last, Xu's motivation to research this subject is in part derived from her family background. Her uncle went to Manchuria to work for a branch of the Manchuria Railway in Harbin, and her Taiwanese aunt was a dentist there.⁴¹¹

⁴¹⁰Xu, "Taiwanese Experiences of Manchukuo," 173.

⁴¹¹Ibid.

Xu's account of the production of the book and her motivation to research this topic illustrate how historicization works in certain contexts under the pretext of discovering and constructing the unrecognized past. Xu positions herself as a relative of some former residents of Manchukuo, one of whom was working for the Manchurian Railway, a pivotal corporation which enacted the state policies in Manchukuo. Although her remark about her family's connection to this region can be seen as personal background, this sets up an overall research direction for interviewing and collecting materials. It is conceivable that her project was restricted by the availability of interviewees and determined by the general nature of Taiwanese migration into Manchuria. However, her subject position as a historian is already defined rather than in the status of defining and redefining, since she identifies herself with her relatives without maintaining a critical distance toward the object of study. The comparison between Taiwanese people in the Southern part of China and the ones in Manchukuo characterizes major features of Taiwanese social life in relation to Japanese colonialism at that time; it also reveals how her relation to the object of research is identified with their contribution to the modernization of Manchuria, resulting in the affirmation of colonial modernity.⁴¹² This underlying logic inherently acknowledges the pitfall of silencing and covering other social dimensions and specifics of the experience of colonialism where colonial rule, discourse, and social practice of material culture interact with one another. More importantly, she seems to accept survivors' narrations of life experiences in Manchukuo as literally true, not

⁴¹²Leo Ching maintains that current debates over *kōmin* literature runs a risk of obfuscating its unique feature of colonial ideology, based on *dōka*, assimilation yet expressed in another form. Like the *dōka* policy inevitably inscribes "the gap between the political and the cultural," *kōminka*, Japanization, also precisely reveals colonial subjects' identity has to be articulated in that language covering the social with personal identity struggle, despite their incomplete status. In Ching's view, "identity struggle is not the effect but the very cause of *kōminka*," and this is what both Japanese and Taiwanese literary critics have overlooked. Thus, he has proposed one should take colonial modernity more into account than internalized, Japanized identity formation in examining colonialism and decolonization. Leo, "'Give me Japan and Nothing Else!,'" 157-159. However, Ching's discussion lacks an examination of specific social dimensions of colonial modernity, and I will address this issue with regard to taste and food consumption later in this chapter.

questioning or critically reviewing their particular ways of (re)presenting the ‘truth’ of historical past.

Bian Fengkui uses Xu’s collection of Taiwanese memories of Manchukuo as primary sources to establish a historiography of the overseas activities of Taiwanese people. Bian’s recent research, *Riju shiqi Taiwan jimin zai dalu ji dongnanya huodong zhi yanjiu, 1895-1945* (A Study of Taiwanese People’s Activities in Mainland China and Southeast Asia During the Japanese Occupation, 1895-1945) shows how personal memories recorded by Xu are literally taken as truth to present the history of Taiwanese migration into Manchuria. He notes that before the establishment of Manchukuo, Taiwan traded beans, bean products, and sulfur with Manchuria, but imports exceeded exports. In addition, Taiwanese people were not willing to move to Manchuria because they thought it was insecure, but the situation dramatically changed after 1932.⁴¹³ More and more Taiwanese people moved to Manchukuo, and the author classifies them into three types. First, there were government officials who worked for Manchukuo. Second, there were people who went to Manchukuo in pursuit of higher education in universities such as College of the National Foundation (Jianguo daxue), College of Great Unity (Datong xueyuan), Medical College of Manchuria (Manzhou yike daxue), etc., through introductions by former students. Tuition at these universities was low but the quality of education was high. Third, people who studied in Japan but could not adjust themselves to Taiwanese society also went to Manchukuo to seek better job opportunities and better lives with an

⁴¹³He defines the term, *Taiwan jimin*, Taiwanese people. He notes that Taiwan *jimin* “refers to Mainland Chinese people who lived in Taiwan under Qing rule and before Japan colonized Taiwan and people who acquired Japanese nationality because of Japanese occupation of Taiwan. Broadly speaking, [it] also includes [people] who lived in Taiwan but had no way to acquire Japanese nationality.” (11) Although the object of his study is the second category of Taiwanese people in a broad sense, this definition is problematic when discussing Taiwanese people’s different legal and social status in Manchukuo, which is one of his research areas.

expectation that this region would develop economically.⁴¹⁴ Bian relies chiefly on Xu's book together with some other primary sources from newspapers, but his study has the same problem as Xu's introduction. They both consider Taiwanese people's memories of Manchukuo as 'true' and transparent records of both the historical past as well as their individual life stories. Bian has transformed these oral histories into part of an objective, empirical, national history of Taiwan without critical reflection. In this regard, what actually matters is how these people narrate their life stories and how they use specific language to represent and construct the colonial past in Taiwan. Their use of the trope of food in this light captures the historical moment in which each food item was perceived and narrated by each individual, similarly yet slightly differently, thereby questioning and unsettling the very point of narration itself, where a dominant notion of a national history is narrated and constructed.

Imaging Food and Racialized Bodies: Discourse of Grains, Social Eating, and Food Rationing System

First of all, food was employed as a principal source of a racial marker to represent the physiology of each ethnic body. Taiwanese people differentiated themselves from Manchu/Chinese people in Manchukuo by their consumption of garlic. Wong Tongfeng who worked as a doctor and an assistant for a professor at the Medical College of Xinjing recalled:

Flu was rampant in Manchuria, the Japanese and the Taiwanese had relatively poor resistance to it; Manzhou/Chinese people were not influenced by it at all. I guess this was probably because they had a lot of garlic. (114)

⁴¹⁴Xu also mentions three reasons the Taiwanese went to Manchuria and two of them are quite similar to those of Bian's points. However, she particularly notes that some people who resisted Japanese colonialism went to Manchuria to avoid oppression. Xu, "Introduction," 175. This fact was equally true for Korean nationalists and communists in Manchuria at that time.

The Chinese consumption of garlic does not merely represent their taste or a particular characteristic of dietary culture, but embodies physiological traits attached to food. Much like the colors and types of hair in the depictions of racial hybrids between Russians and the Chinese as examined in chapter two, garlic becomes another metonymic item to represent a racially perceived Chinese body. The Chinese people's resistance to the cold weather, a sign of physical strength, is attributed to their eating habit and their consumption of particular seasoning, which in fact could indicate their long acclimation to the climate, whereas the Taiwanese lack of resistance represents its similarity to that of the "weak" Japanese body. Li Mouhua who graduated from Xinjing Engineering College and then worked for the Department of Facilities in the Bureau of Construction in the Manchukuo government further substantiates the fact that "the Japanese did not have garlic [because they] loathed its smell; Manchu/Chinese people must have it along with sorghum beer/wine. They eat it because it generates energy." (340) Xu Changqing, who worked for a steel factory run by a Taiwanese man for a half a year in Shenyang, professed a feeling of distaste for the smell of garlic when he traveled by train in Manchuria. When he entered a car, he could not stand its smell and left quickly. "I did not eat garlic since I first went to Japan, and I did not see any there." (589)

It is true that garlic, *ninniku*, is rarely used in Japanese culinary traditions, but it is used to season *tataki* of beef or *katsuo*. It can be a substitute for Chinese chives in *gyōza*, Japanese dumplings.⁴¹⁵ As a matter of fact, garlic is commonly used in Chinese cuisine including Japanese or Korean style Chinese cuisine, and Xu's use of garlic and its flavor as a metaphor to represent Chineseness is nothing but a popular fallacy

⁴¹⁵Richard Hosking, *A Dictionary of Japanese Food: Ingredients and Culture* (London: Prospect Books, 1996), 109. Emiko Obniku-Tierney also notes that "[m]any Japanese, in turn, used to or continue to distinguish themselves from the neighboring Koreans and Chinese by pointing out their use of garlic, which is not used in *washoku* (Japanese cuisine)." Emiko Obniku-Tierney, *Rice as Self: Japanese Identities through Time* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993), 3.

which ignores the use of garlic in Japanese cuisine. Given the fact that the Japanese in Colonial Korea also abhorred the smell of garlic, Xu's ideas about garlic, as an indicator of nationality, reveal his imperial desire to identify himself with Japan by subordinating the Chinese people below both the Japanese and the Taiwanese in the realm of food taste and consumption. The meaning of garlic is restrictively assigned and simply reduced by the speaker in order to represent the physiology of the whole body of the Chinese, marked with a particular odor and strength. Thus, garlic becomes a material, metaphoric and symbolic means to map out the racial order and convey racial differences and values.

Along with garlic, the Chinese consumption of pickles made with bean paste is served as another marker to represent characteristics of the people as well as their cuisine. Ms. Huangchen Boyun, wife of Haung Qingtu who served as a probationer of the embassy, mentioned that "pickles with soybean paste consumed by Northeastern people are a lot saltier than Taiwanese ones, so I did not dare to buy and eat one. [Instead], [w]e had Japanese *takuan* (*huangluobo*)."

(296) However, this assessment is not necessarily true because they are both salty, and the degree of saltiness would vary according to each individual's standard of taste. In fact, the Japanese also use *miso*, fermented soybean paste, to make *miso-zuke*, Japanese pickles, though they have different flavors.⁴¹⁶ Donald Richie points out that Japanese people in Honshu consume more salt than people in other areas. He notes:

One of the drawbacks of continual *tsukemono* [Japanese pickles] consumption, however, is that the eater eventually consumes too much salt. This is not much of a problem in the cities but in the northern part of Honshu, in snow country, it can be. There the incidence of salt-induced high blood pressure is notably

⁴¹⁶Hosking, *A Dictionary of Japanese Food*, 161, Donald Richie, *A Taste of Japan: Food Fact and Fable: What the People Eat: Customs and Etiquette* (Tokyo: New York: Kodansha International, 1985), 84.

higher than elsewhere. One of the reasons is that, since fresh vegetables cannot be harvested for a long period time, much more salt is used.⁴¹⁷

As cited above, in fact, not all Japanese had less salty *takuan*, and salty *takuan* with soybean paste is also made and consumed by the Japanese as well. In this light, the Taiwanese consumption of Japanese *takuan* does not so much represent one of their characteristics in food production and consumption as it signifies the distinctive social and racial status assigned to food. The Japanese *takuan* becomes a dietary sign that demonstrates the Taiwanese reception of Japanese food and their access to it, whose symbolic meaning is defined as more sophisticated and advanced than the Chinese one. The strong Chinese body with good resistance to illness created by garlic parallels their preference for salty food, which may be derived from the cold climate. In contrast, Taiwanese people's weakness and lack of immunity matches their preference for less salty Japanese food, while their standard for assessing its saltiness is arbitrary. Moreover, Koreans during the colonial period produced this item and consumed it in great quantities, and thus the notion of "Japanese *takuan*" and the "authenticity" of its taste in this context are quite ambiguous.⁴¹⁸ Consuming "Japanese" food and having the same taste as the Japanese indicate that those who chose to eat the food were affirming the racial hierarchy imposed upon colonized by colonizer, as well as their desire to remap that racial order. The colonized people themselves created the value of particular food items to differentiate themselves from others who were also colonized, thereby establishing a new racial order within the

⁴¹⁷Richie, *A Taste of Japan*, 88.

⁴¹⁸In fact, the Japanese and Koreans have been making slightly different types of *takuan*, thus one can easily tell the difference. Speaking from my experience, the former, *takuan*, a representative of *nukazuke*, pickled with salt and rice bran (Hosking, *A Dictionary of Japanese Food*, 161), has simple saltiness, whereas the latter has a sweet-sour taste, along with its saltiness. In addition, dried radish is used for *takuan* (Richie, *A Taste of Japan*, 84), but fresh radish is used for the Korean one. The first character for *danmuji*, the Korean *takuan*, signifies sweetness. The Japanese living in Korea or Koreans during the colonial period started to make *takuan*; it is still questionable whether all these Taiwanese people had *takuan* solely imported from Japan or from Korea, or the one locally produced, a Manchurian style of *takuan*. In this respect, the author's claim to have "Japanese" *takuan* does not necessarily mean an "authentic" Japanese cuisine.

regime of taste. As later demonstrated, however, this order was represented in far more complicated and stratified ways in Taiwanese relations among themselves according to class, as well as toward the Chinese, and the other five races when it came to the discourse of rice and other grains and their consumption.

Along with the *takuan*, rice, of all food ingredients, was used as a principal food item to demonstrate the privileged social status of the Taiwanese as Japanese imperial subjects. More significantly, these Taiwanese interviewees also commented on how the policy of the harmony of the five races was enacted with regard to food rationing according to ethnicity, illustrating how the Taiwanese were positioned and treated in this system. Thus, the existing divergent accounts of distributing rice and other grains to each group of people present a more complicated narrative on the actual enforcement of colonial rule, people's perception of racial hierarchy, and the social practice of eating. The colonized people's own mode of social eating and racial thinking associated with food generated discursive effects upon (trans)formations of colonial order, the ruling system, and the regime of taste. Liu Jianzhi, a graduate from Manzhou Medical College and a doctor, recalled that "I received rice rations, not millet, the same treatment as Japanese. There is everything [in Manchukuo], if [a person] has money, then [he/she] can purchase anything." (16) It is remarkable that rice becomes a signifier of Taiwanese people's privileged racial and social status in the state of Manchukuo. Liu's statement suggests that even though the rice was rationed by the state, it could be purchased when available by anyone with enough money, just like any other commodities. However, according to Xie Xueshi, in October 1938, Manchukuo promulgated a law for the control of rice and grains. Rice was controlled by Manzhou lianggu huishe (Manchurian Grain Company) which was involved in production, rationing, price control, export and import. Wheat and flour were also controlled by Manzhou zhifen lianhehui (Manchurian Association of Flour-

Milling) which was involved in the purchase of wheat, the production of flour, as well as its import and sale.⁴¹⁹ Although Xie's study does not cover the enactment of the food rationing system according to ethnicity, it is clear that rice was a controlled commodity in Manchukuo at that time. Rice was the object under state control, yet at the same time it could be outside the purview of its rule. Thus, rice was not exclusive to any one ethnicity in Manchukuo; there is a discrepancy between state rule and people's management of consumer goods.

Before discussing Taiwanese memories and representations of rice in detail, I would like to quote two Taiwanese people's recollections of eating food during college, and then introduce some important historical materials on classifications of grains and the food rationing system in Manchukuo to understand the material reality of Manchukuo at the time. I quote historical documents as evidence of how food rationing was actually enacted; however, this does not mean to suggest that I prioritize them over personal memories, but rather to show how divergent versions of histories about food distribution and consumption by the state were narrated and constructed by individuals in different forms of writing. I then analyze the implications of eating in a public space, as abstracted and expressed by informants in both qualitative and quantitative ways. I explore how the invention of a new rhetoric of a "multi-grain mixed rice" and the social practice of hybrid food can both conform to and subvert the ruling ideology of racial harmony.

Ye Minggang's memory of eating food in a dormitory at Xinjing Medical College also shows that segregation and food distribution by ethnicity were coercively practiced in colleges. According to him, "with regard to eating, we lived in a dormitory and had initially eaten with the Chinese. Later, it was not until we were rejected by the Japanese that we started eating separately. The Japanese had white rice,

⁴¹⁹Xie Xueshi, *Weimanzhouguo xinbian* (History of Manchukuo, newly edited) (Beijing: Renmin hubanshe, 1995), 508-509.

whereas the Chinese had sorghum and noodles.” (53) The author adds the word “white,” an adjective, to emphasize the particular type of rice and its exclusive consumption by the Japanese, but also by the Taiwanese, which will be addressed more in detail later. Given that the Chinese term for rice is usually called *dami* in Mainland China and *mi* in Taiwan, the term of the white rice, *baimi*, is an indication of an individual’s distinctive racial and social status. Lin Yongcang, who graduated from National Xinjing Technical College, remembers that food was rationed according to the five races, which further demonstrates how the rhetoric of white rice (*baimi*) was particularly adopted to stress that the Taiwanese privileged status was as high as the Japanese people in the racial hierarchy. His memory reveals his active reception and internalization of colonial order, thereby reproducing the ruling ideology of the state. He studied with individuals from others of the five races, Japanese, the Han, the Manchu, Mongolians, and Koreans, lived with them in a dormitory, and they all had meals together. He notes:

Food was distributed differently due to the control of economics. Since the Manchu and Han Chinese people had sorghum, Koreans had hulled millet, the Japanese had rice (*mi*), and *we, Taiwanese people, also* [italics added] had rice (*mi*). In principle, the Manchu and Han Chinese people received sorghum, Koreans received hulled millet (*xiaomi*), the Japanese received white rice (*baimi*), and students from Taiwan received white rice (*baimi*). I was upset about the unequal treatment of people ever since I was little. I thought it would have been better if Manchukuo had come up with a way to solve this problem; it had already proposed “the harmony of the ‘five races.’” I agreed to cook a *multi-grain rice that included white rice, sorghum, hulled millet, and beans, etc.*, and it was distributed. [italics added] Luckily, most Japanese students also understood this and were cooperative. On top of this, the technology of cooking rice was improved and so cooked multi-grain rice became tasty. We all liked to have it and got along peacefully. (349)⁴²⁰

⁴²⁰Ms. Huangchen Boyun, wife of Huang Qingtu, quoted above, also described the rice rationing system in a similar way, showing the logic proposed and justified by the state, and she expressed her generosity towards certain Chinese people she knew. “Before liberation, we had received rationed white rice and we left some rice to give Chinese women who had just delivered babies. The Japanese did not distribute white rice to the Chinese, saying that they were accustomed to eating millet. In fact, they liked to have white rice very much, but could consume it only at the new year. I saw some women in childbed, wives

“Saikin Gokanen ni okeru zakkoku no jukyū jisseki” (Record of demand and supply of grain for the recent five years) from *Kantōshū oyobi Mantetsu no shokuryō haikyū* (Food Rationing of Kantō Province and the Manchurian Railway), a series of *Manshūkoku kimitsu keizai shiryō* (Confidential Materials of Manchukuo’s Economy), shows how much rice and other grains were imported and exported from 1938 to 1942.⁴²¹ In introducing this report, I do not intend to provide accurate numbers of exchanges in goods between Manchukuo and other countries but rather to understand the nature of the quasi-governmental organizations’ classifications of food items and regulations on food rationing. Thus, I offer a descriptive outline, without charts. First, as the title indicates, the term, *zakkoku*, refers to all sorts of grains consumed and traded in Manchukuo. There are twelve types of grains in total in the charts which outline import and export: barley, rye, wheat, oat, millet, barnyard millet, soy bean, and red bean, etc. The term, *maizakoku* is used to refer to rice and other grains.⁴²² Second, four different types of milled rice were traded: brown rice, *seimai*, polished rice, unhulled rice, and *saimai*, crushed rice. They used the term “*seimai*” for polished white rice instead of “*seihakumai*,” literally meaning polished white rice or “*hakumai*,” (*baimi*, in Chinese) literally meaning white rice in Japanese. It is interesting to note that types of rice were also called according to where they originated. For example, *Chōsenkenmai*, Korean brown rice, was exported, implying other types of Korean rice were consumed in Manchukuo. In addition, *Taiwanmai* (Taiwanese rice), *Gaijinmai* (Foreign rice), and *Chōsenmai* (Korean rice) were

of my husband’s subordinate officials who were older than my husband, and I gave it to them.” Xu, 296.

⁴²¹The author of this report is unknown. In Xie Xueshi, ed., *Manshūkoku kimitsu keizai shiryō* (Confidential Materials of Manchukuo’s Economy), vol. 15, *Kantōshū oyobi Mantetsu no shokuryō haikyū* (Food Rationing of Kantō Province and the Manchurian Railway) (Tokyo, Honnotomosha: 2001), 4-28. Kantō Province refers to Dalian and Lüshun which Japan took over after the Sino-Japanese War in 1895 but returned to the Qing in the same year. It was leased from 1898-1945. For more detailed information see, <http://ko.wikipedia.org/wiki/%EA%B4%80%EB%8F%99%EC%A3%BC>. Last accessed on July 28, 2008.

⁴²²*Ibid.*, 5-9.

imported. In 1941 and 1942, in the section of Korean rice, *Naichimai* (Japanese rice) was added. This is especially worth mentioning since Japanese rice was imported only in these two years.⁴²³ It explicitly indicates that people in Manchukuo were not able to try rice imported from Japan for most of this period.

Moreover, this volume contains other important documents on regulations for food rationing among the Chinese. The Chinese people's staple food was defined as *zakkoku*, grain.⁴²⁴ According to "Jūyō sangyō ni jūji suru manjin rōdōsha shokuryō haikyū yōkō" (Guidelines on food rationing for Chinese workers engaged in important industries), companies designated food distribution centers, where they issued written requests for Chinese employees' food rations. They classified workers into four categories according to the importance of their work and the intensity of their labor. The first three groups received 45 *kin* (*jin*, in Chinese), 40 *kin*, and 37 *kin*, respectively, per month, while general workers received 29 *kin*.⁴²⁵ "Manjin shain ryōkoku haikyū toriatsukai kitei" (Provision of food rationing for Chinese employees) was enacted in 1938 and offers more detailed descriptions of the amounts of provisions and classifications of workers including their families: (1) special heavy workers; (2) heavy workers; (3) general workers; (4) families of adults, including children over seven years old; (5) families with children under six years old. Forms of food rationing in these two reports specifically delineate the amount of grain Chinese workers receive, and neither mentions types of grains.⁴²⁶ What can be reasonably inferred is that the companies enacting the state's rules for food rationing were more

⁴²³Ibid., 22-23.

⁴²⁴Betsumiya Hideo, Mayor of Dairen [Dailian], "Jūyō kōjō jigyōjō manjin jūgyōin no kazoku ni taisuru shokuryō zōryō haikyū ni kansuru ken" (On the increase of food rationing of Chinese employees' families in work places of major factories) Xie, *Manshūkoku kimitsu keizai shiryō*, 56.

⁴²⁵Ibid., 32.

⁴²⁶Ibid., 32, 64. I have also tried to look for types of grains distributed to Chinese workers in the bodies of these two documents but could not find any of them, in part because some parts of the original documents are not clear enough to read. In spite of this difficulty, it is still true that none of these documents specifically mention types of grains distributed to the Chinese workers, but they do mention the amounts.

concerned about the amount of food than types of cereal crops consumed by Chinese workers.

With regard to the enactment of food rationing by the “five races,” “Manjin shain ryōkoku haikyū toriatsukai kitei” (Provision of food rationing for Chinese employees), which was enacted in 1938, has an important bylaw on food rationing, with Koreans and Russians explicitly excluded from the general rule. Article Two of the bylaw reads: “With regard to Korean and Russian employees, this provision is applied with necessary modifications; however, those people who received rice for eating are excluded.”⁴²⁷ This exceptional regulation serves as a counter evidence of the Taiwanese man’s remark about the enforcement of food rationing system according to the five races that Japanese and Taiwanese were exclusively allotted rice. It clearly shows that Koreans and Russians also received rice, and were not treated as the Chinese who received only cereal crops and no rice as a staple. The inequitable treatment of people based on their ethnic background demonstrates that the Japanese and the Taiwanese were not the only recipients of rice and that some Koreans and Russians had the same food rations in some companies, in turn, confuting the idea of receiving rice as a sign of the first rank in the racial order.

Returning to Lin’s memory of eating and its relation to the five races in his college dormitory, the speaker seems to choose *mi* and *baimi* on purpose to highlight their position above other races as well as stress their equivalency to the Japanese, since the term, *guzi* or *suzi*, referring to hulled millet in Chinese, could have been used as a synonym for *xiaomi*, hulled millet. Furthermore, the official term for rice or polished rice was *seimai*. Of course, this is directly tied to Taiwanese witnesses’ narration of their life stories in Chinese. Given that they often used Japanese words or expressions when they told their stories, however, it might have been possible for

⁴²⁷Xie, *Manshūkoku kimitsu keizai shiryō*, 44.

them to mention the Japanese term either *seimai* or *seihakumai*, since this term was so crucial in the food rationing system. Despite the fact that Koreans and Russians also received rice, they were never mentioned in the text, and they were described as subordinate in the racial hierarchy by the Taiwanese. In addition, the use of the word “white” evokes a pure, white image of the object, and it implies two different meanings, qualitatively and quantitatively. On the one hand, the particular quality attached to the color imparts a more powerful, symbolic meaning for the speaker who consumes that rice, as he relates to other ethnic groups. Chen Gaoxian, wife of Chen Jiashu who worked for the Research Bureau of Industry in Jilin, expressed the quality of white rice this way: “[w]hen we lived in Manchuria, we chiefly had white rice, and the rice from Japan was very delicious. We did not eat tasteless sorghum.” (519) However, as I have explained above, it was only in the years of 1941 and 1942 that rice was imported from Japan. For the rest of the period, in fact, people in Manchukuo consumed rice that was locally produced, mainly by immigrant Koreans who introduced the new agricultural method of cultivating rice in wet fields in Manchuria, or rice imported from Taiwan, Colonial Korea or other foreign countries.⁴²⁸

Ohnuki-Tierney’s study, *Rice as Self: Japanese Identities through Time*, examines how rice and rice paddies came to be identified as “we,” indicating the Japanese self and “our” Japanese land in contemporary times through their encounters with the Chinese, other Asians, and Westerners. In short, despite the decrease in rice consumption in Japanese households, rice, out of other food ingredients, has been classified as “staple food,” and short-grain rice has been represented as the Japanese self, whereas long-grain-rice has been represented as the Chinese “other.” When Californian short-grain rice began to be imported, the focal point shifted to the place of origin, and the Japanese have emphasized rice that was cultivated on Japanese

⁴²⁸Xie, *Manshūkoku kimitsu keizai shiryō*, 22-23.

soil.⁴²⁹ The Japanese also started a discourse on the purity of rice; “[it] has been used for nationalistic purposes since the Early Modern Period. The rallying cry during World War II was to win the war so that the Japanese could again eat the pure white rice.”⁴³⁰ In the author’s view, Japan’s dependence on her own purity arises when the “Stranger Deity” is no longer effective in shaping and revitalizing the self.⁴³¹ In Manchukuo, the discourse of “white race” was produced by those who were themselves colonized, in order to give themselves the legitimacy of social status at least as high as the colonizers. In addition, the tastiness and the quality of white rice create and add a distinctive commodity value to it, as well as the symbolic value connected to the word “white.” Thus, the purity of Japanese white rice is also ascribed by those who are colonized, and its value increases in proportion to the colonized consumers’ identification with and appreciation of its taste outside of Japan. White rice is a symbol of the pure Japanese self in Japan. Similarly, it also serves as a sign of racial distinction and a principal object on which the colonized could project their imperial desire. The value of the Japanese things in a material and symbolic sense was extended and enhanced by those people whom they colonized. It therefore became both more exclusive and more valuable when the colonized people identify themselves more with their colonizers than with others who were also colonized. This was possible when the colonized witnesses offered selective and abstract representations of

⁴²⁹ Ohnuki-Tierney, *Rice as Self*, 10, 128. She particularly addresses the employment of symbolism with Chinese rice and Chinese bugs represented in Natsume Sōseki’s novel, *Kōfu* (The miners). “The dismal life at the mine is symbolized by Chinese rice and Chinese bugs, whereas life outside is the proper for Japanese. The symbolic opposition of / domestic rice: Chinese rice:: silver: mud/ represent the basic opposition of / Japanese self: marginalized external other, which the Chinese have become by this time in [*sic*] the Japanese view. Modernizing Japan faced a double process of identification to distinguish themselves both from the West and from other Asians.” (italics in the original) Ibid., 104-105.

⁴³⁰ Ohnuki-Tierney, *Rice as Self*, 131.

⁴³¹ Ibid., 36. Michael Ashkenazi and Jeanne Jacob examine this issue in terms of *Nihonjin-ron*, the ideas emphasizing the uniqueness of being Japanese and its culture. Michael Ashkenazi and Jeanne Jacob, *The Essence of Japanese Cuisine: An Essay on Food and Culture* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), 61-64.

the materiality of the colonial past and its imaginative manipulation as opposed to discursive dimensions of social and historical ‘reality’ of the past.

On the other hand, all other types and qualities of rice have to be generalized to being white, a process of standardization and homogenization, resulting in remembering a colonial past that was structured by the state’s control of people according to ethnicity, as well as the Taiwanese reception of that very process. The discourse on white rice not only creates an abstraction of the qualities of rice, a process of homogenization, but it also suggests that when people experience rice, they are already controlled and measured by racial hierarchy, as reflected by the systemic and stratified arrangements of grains by the state power. The Taiwanese are a people who had white rice in accordance with the state-regulated food rationing system, so their personal stories about rice are already preconditioned by the state system of food rationing according to ethnic background. That self-described past is homogenized and standardized with the enactment of food rationing rules by an external, standardized source.⁴³² However, the standardization of available food staples by both the state and those who were colonized are at once diversified and stratified within the narration of colonial experience due to different social ranks among the Taiwanese, a phenomenon which I will explain more about later.

More significantly, multi-grain rice is used as a symbolic metaphor to represent the realization of racial harmony. While it might have been consumed as a regular dietary item before this time, the employment of this trope and its actual

⁴³²This passage is drawn from Yoneyama’s discussion on the Japanese state’s classifications of survivors from the atomic bombings by statistical standards defined by the state, causing the survivors to be alienated from their own experiences of the events. She argues that their responses to this alienation will take on two forms. “One is an attempt to restore the original, genuine completeness of the events and the other one emerge[s] out of collective efforts to reestablish the integrity and autonomy of individual survivors.” Yoneyama, *Hiroshima Traces*, 94. However, my point is that the state is the subject which imposes the rules of distributing rice upon the ruled, bringing about their initial identification with the item and integration into the ruling system, and at the same time the ruled themselves create and use a special term representing the particular quality of the item, which is possible through the abstractions of a variety of qualities within it.

consumption illustrate social dimensions of eating and its discursive practice that ultimately bring about the consumption of new dietary items as well as the production of their material and symbolic values. On a surface level, both the colonizer and colonized invented a new rhetoric of the five races based on a multigrain rice, which seems to have reflected the state propaganda.⁴³³ This neological adoption of a dietary item illustrates how colonizer and colonized actively participated in the promotion of the state ruling ideology by voluntarily practicing a new way of eating in a public space, which was an ideal and propaganda of the state. As for the Taiwanese, it is worth noting that the social practice of a new type of rice was brought about by the advances in cooking technology. The development of new cooking methods resonates with Xu's assessment of Taiwanese leadership roles in modernizing Manchukuo. The witness's ardent role in eating a multigrain rice, a symbol of equality of peoples, also connotes his contribution to bringing a sense of fairness based on the progress of modern cooking technology. Likewise, the production of a national history is possible through the present affirmation of colonial modernity, wherein the temporality of the past was acknowledged to move forward and its continual connection with the present and future of the nation is grounded on the formation of a particular, dominant version of the national past.

At the same time, however, colonizer and colonized became agents of creating new cuisines by consuming a particular type of rice. White rice came to represent Taiwanese supremacy because of their identification with the Japanese, but was superseded by the multigrain rice that would produce a new commodity value as well as a new symbolic value. This seems evident, even though the text narrates the proposition of this plan somewhat ambiguously. Moreover, by adding beans, which

⁴³³In Lin's testimony on the consumption of a multi-grain rice, the initiator proposing the plan is unclear, but Lin agreed to eat this rice and according to his testimony, the Japanese also ate it. Xu, *Rizhi shiqi zai manzhou de taiwanren*, 349. I discuss the problem of the subject in experience in more detail later.

had not previously been one of the major provisions and was not mentioned in the state's rules for food rationing according to ethnicity, as described by Taiwanese interviewees, the food rationing system itself came to be unregulated by their invention of a new menu and the students' integrated eating behavior.⁴³⁴ The inclusion of another grain implies that either colonizer, colonized, or both, are active agents creatively using a menu and a dietary culture that affected the entire food distribution system. Ironically, this new practice of social eating in a public space destabilized the state-imposed order of food rationing and consumption. The production of a new type of rice and its consumption subverted the stratification of colonial order by blurring the very racial boundaries that were attached to types of grains by food rationing regulations. This new way of social eating in a public space also yielded a new symbolic value in the regime of taste in food production and consumption, which would be used and appropriated by certain groups of people in the end. The process by which new food customs were practiced by colonizer and colonized highlights the intrinsic impossibility of achieving the harmony of the five races in reality and in practice. Their eating practices would produce new symbolic values of things and challenge both racial hierarchy and the underlying logic assigned to food, both of which had been designed to maintain the order of people and things. Since the rhetoric of the system, whatever its content and form, is (re)presented by the state, the food rationing system and social eating can be practiced and replaced by both colonizer and colonized in their own modes. These practices inscribe both the affirmation and internalization of ruling ideology as well as its inherent disorder, both explicitly and

⁴³⁴In the five races food rationing system, beans were omitted and were never mentioned by other informants. However, beans were certainly included in a multi-grain rice that was presumably distributed by the college. This reveals an inconsistency in the types of grains that were distributed to the five races. At the same time, it might be also possible that the college might have changed foodstuffs, particularly grains, depending on their availability. Thus, they were able to make a multi-grain rice with beans that did not seem to be strictly controlled, in contrast to other major grains such as millet, sorghum, or rice.

implicitly. The recurrent theme of food and eating exemplifies the intricate dynamics of colonial rule and order, particularly when it comes to discourse, law and social system, and practice; it involves multi-layered, social matrixes of creating and recreating new cuisines and tastes that both assert and blur the existing racial order, while simultaneously producing a new commodity and symbolic value attached to multigrain rice.

Contrary to the dominant narratives of the consumption of white rice as a sign of Taiwanese superiority, two personal memories demonstrate that the Taiwanese consumed sorghum, a grain allotted for the Chinese by law, as the Taiwanese described during the Manchukuo period. Chen Zhengde, son of Chen Jiashu, who delineated the consumption of white rice imported from Japan, returned to Taiwan when he was ten years old. He recalled that his younger brother was specially treated, particularly when he was ill, and that he had white rice porridge while other siblings all had sorghum. If he did not finish it, they were allowed to eat what was leftover. (534) Chen's memory of eating sorghum is in direct opposition to the father's statement about the consumption of white rice in the same family, although their economic situations might not have been the same level of affluence all the time. Fu Qingteng, who worked for the Southern Manchurian Electricity Corporation, also recollected that rice, the principal food, was not available in sufficient quantities, so they had rice mixed with sorghum. (562) As I previously noted, Chinese workers and their food rations seemed to be strictly controlled, since they were put in categories according to family size and the company that employed them, with many detailed subcategories. However, aside from a special exception made for Korean and Russian employees who received rice, the Japanese and the Taiwanese were not addressed. Thus, it could be surmised that both strict and lenient rules of food distribution were applied to each group of people and would have varied according to class. The fact

that the Taiwanese also consumed sorghum challenges a dominant and monolithic narrative of their exclusive consumption of white rice, which was “officially” distributed to other groups of people, yet was relived and recreated by the present Taiwanese people’s social imagination. It reveals precisely how racial boundaries based on dietary items and culture were remembered and narrated by the same people in incongruent ways. Despite the diverse and complicated layers of experiences of the colonial past, the personal memories of rice and food dominate all memories, and these memories corroborate existing official narratives. The interviews are prone to be abstracted and transformed into a collective memory that serves to recount and emphasize their supremacy. As Bian’s study shows, what is problematic is that their testimonies tend to be taken as true and actual historical facts, which might then mistakenly be used as an essential basis for constructing a collective Taiwanese identity, as well as a national history.

The Taiwanese construction of their own racial supremacy relative to other colonized people is also reflected in their memories of food and the ethnically-based food rationing system in Japan. In Manchukuo, the Taiwanese situated themselves as the second highest people, as discussed above, and there is a specific statement about the hierarchy of the various people.⁴³⁵ Li Xuanzhong, who stayed in Manchuria for a

⁴³⁵ Just as in their accounts of the food rationing system, Taiwanese statements regarding their legal and social status as second only to those of the Japanese are also in conflict with one another. Hong Zaiming who worked for the government for about a year, stated that “by all appearances, Taiwanese people and the Japanese were the same, since we could speak Japanese. As a matter of fact, Taiwanese people neither belonged to the Japanese nor to Manzhou [Chinese] people, but [they were treated] differently.” Xu, 323. However, Chen Jiashu mentions that Taiwanese people were classified as Manzhou/Chinese people in order for the Japanese to work in Manchukuo. He was also regarded as Chinese initially, and then was treated as equal to the Japanese after he was transferred to an electronic and chemical company of the Japanese government. Ibid., 510. According to a regulation, only Taiwanese people with Chinese nationality were able to enter college, particularly those seeking professional education like medical school. Thus, most Taiwanese used their Chinese nationality. Liu Jianzhi also used his Chinese nationality, registered as Fengtian (Shenyang). He recalls “[h]owever, afterwards, it seemed as if I was regarded as Japanese.” (15) Since he does not mention when these events took place, it seems impossible to check the accuracy of this statement. As I discussed in Chapter One, however, the Taiwanese were neither classified as one of the five races nor as an independent category according to the law of nationality in Manchukuo. It is likely that they were considered to be either the Japanese or foreign others, like Russians with or without the nationality of Manchukuo. Guowuyuan fazhiju,

year, mentioned that, “Japan had a great influence over Northeast China at that time. The first class people were Japanese, the second class people were Taiwanese, the third class people were Koreans, the fourth class people were Manzhou people [Chinese] who worked for Japanese organizations, and the rest were all the fifth class people.” (426) There was a racial order to the food rationing system in Japan as well, according to a Taiwanese man. Xu Changjing, who worked for Rizin Iron Company established by a Taiwanese man in Shenyang, compared the food rationing system in Manchukuo with that of the Japanese. He thought that the former was more severe than the latter in the distribution of food according to ethnicity. He notes “Japanese were the blue ration, Koreans were white, Manchu/Chinese people were red, some Mongolians were yellow, the worst were White Russians; they seemed to be black. Like the Japanese, Taiwanese were blue. (594-595) He also recalled that the food rationing system was enacted in Japan in 1938 or 1939. Taiwanese people received the same ration as the Japanese, but Koreans were treated differently. Taiwanese people received sugar, and Koreans did not. (586)

However, the actual records of the food rationing system and the policy of mobilization for war in Japan cast Xu’s account on sugar rationing into doubt, at least in terms of when it took place. The Japanese government’s National Spiritual Mobilization Campaign, enacted in August 1937, promoted the integration and centralization of all the existing patriotic organizations.⁴³⁶ The government initiated “the so-called mobilization of materials” in the summer of 1938.⁴³⁷ “A temporary sugar shortage arose first in the summer of 1939, owing mainly to increased consumption of sugar in Japan, to exports to the continent, and to speculative buying

Manzhouguo faling jilan, 829-1013. However, their status may have changed over time, like Koreans in Manchukuo, so further detailed study regarding this issue is needed.

⁴³⁶Simon Partner, “The WW II Home Front in Japan,” http://news.uke.edu/2003/03/japan_lecture1321. Last accessed on August 11 2008.

⁴³⁷Elizabeth Jorgensen, “Sugar Rationing Made Nationwide in Japan,” *Far Eastern Survey* 9.24 (December 6, 1940): 289-290.

and hoarding.”⁴³⁸ Sugar and matches were rationed first in the six major cities of Japan during the first week of June, which signaled the initial adoption of a system of rationing goods used daily by the general consumer.⁴³⁹ Sugar rationing was enforced and expanded nationally on November 1, as the state regulated the production and consumption of luxuries.⁴⁴⁰

The discrepancy between the actual enforcement of the rationing system of food items controlled in Japan and Xu’s memory of them is another example of how the racial order and the Taiwanese supremacy over other colonized people are constructed through partial or inaccurate remembering of the past, both in Japan and in Manchukuo at the same time. Considering the food rationing system as it influenced the Taiwanese in both the metropolis and the colony, I would like to elaborate more on the specific meaning of colonial modernity with regard to food and taste and its relation to the colonial subject formation, which Leo Ching overlooks in his discussion of Japanization. By arguing that “identity struggle is not the effect but the very cause of *kōminka*,” Ching directs his scholarly attention to colonial modernity expressed by colonial intellectuals in their relationship to Japan.⁴⁴¹ One prevailing psychology represented in *kōmin* literature is the longing and admiration of the colonial intellectuals’ for a developed, ‘modern’ Japan, and their revulsion and intolerance for ‘backward’ Taiwan. Ching notes that “[t]he desire for modernity is consequently reduced to the problem of “Japanization” (*ji-pēn hua*),” as for the Taiwanese, “Japan was the locus of modernity, Japan was the West.”⁴⁴² However, Ching’s point begs a further examination of the ways modernity is perceived and specific ways in which the Taiwanese articulate their social position relative to other colonized groups. The

⁴³⁸Ibid., 289.

⁴³⁹Miriam S. Farley, “Japan Experiments with Rationing,” *Far Eastern Survey* 9.17 (August 14, 1940): 203.

⁴⁴⁰Jorgensen, “Sugar Rationing Made Nationwide in Japan,” 289.

⁴⁴¹Leo, “ ‘Give me Japan and Nothing Else!’ ” 158.

⁴⁴²Ibid., 160.

Taiwanese define their subject positions by the types of food commodities they have access to and consume, such as Japanese pickles, white rice, and sugar, thereby demarcating signs of social and racial distinctions according to self-judged taste. Although their food choices were predominantly defined and regulated by the states' control of food both in Manchukuo and Japan, they came up with particular dishes that would assure their supremacy over other colonized people. They were agents of bringing modern technology and modernity to their jobs, and at the same time they were also recipients and producers of modern and fine "Japanese" taste in both the metropolis and the colony. In direct opposition to Xu's positive assessment of their contribution to the modernization of Manchukuo without exploiting the local people, they created racial boundaries based on the significance of food items and taste in both spaces.⁴⁴³ In this case, the meaning of colonial modernity is determined by the consumption of a particular food, a sign of a bearer of a fine taste. Thus, to the Taiwanese, identification with Japan is expressed in the form of taste, and this taste is specifically forged to subordinate other colonized people in the colony and the metropolis as low class people without sophistication.

Returning to Ching's point of Japanization as the cause, it begins to sound like Althusser's idea of interpellation and ideology in the sense that colonial subjectivity is created by the Japanese Emperor's calling, so the subject accepts Japanese imperial ideology actively and voluntarily.⁴⁴⁴ If a colonial identity is shaped by colonial ideology, then how a subject is situated is an unavoidable interrelation between cause and effect, between interpellation and performativity. Ching's understanding of being and becoming in *kōmin* literature is an extension of this logic: He argues: "[t]here is to

⁴⁴³ Xu, "Taiwanese Experiences of Manchukuo," 179.

⁴⁴⁴ Shu-mei Shih reads Ling Shuhua's feminist writing in this way; once a subject is interpellated, he/she is absolutely subject to the ideology and follows it. Shu-mei Shih, *The Lure of the Modern: Writing Modernism in Semicolonial China, 1917-1937* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 225-226.

be no calculation, no contemplation or investigation into ‘becoming Japanese’ (or, more precisely, becoming an imperial subject). It is not a question of identity but a matter of a fate. It is not a process of becoming but a state of being.”⁴⁴⁵ As Ching notes, if characters in *kōminka* literature receive imperial education and try to position themselves between Japanese and Taiwanese, this clearly shows that they are in the process of becoming. Even after they reach the status of being after becoming, the maintenance of that status may require additional effort, since their status is not permanently fixed but rather subject to constant change, even within the colonial ideology of Japanization. This is expressed and demonstrated in their acquisition and consumption of particular foodstuffs and refined taste. As the consumption of multigrain rice shows, interpellation is always associated with performativity that generates multiple meanings and effects on both individual and societal levels. More importantly, the processes of narrating events and experiences can be disconnected from the identification of particular subject positions, particularly in fiction, as Martin Jay has astutely observed.⁴⁴⁶

Martin Jay proposes a possible theoretical framework for deconstructing the dichotomy between subject and object by introducing Benjamin’s concept of “absolute or religious experience, a point of indifference between subject and object, an equiprimodality prior to their differentiation.”⁴⁴⁷ Benjamin expressed deep doubts about the restoration of genuine *Erfahrung* [experience] in the modern age in which art works are (re)produced mechanically and massively in capitalist society without retaining “the cumulative, totalizing accretion of transmittable wisdom, of epic truth, which was *Erfahrung*,” as opposed to “the immediate, passive, fragmented, isolated,

⁴⁴⁵Leo, “ ‘Give me Japan and Nothing Else!’ ” 152.

⁴⁴⁶Martin Jay, *Cultural Semantics of the Time* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts, 1998), 47-61.

⁴⁴⁷Jay, *Cultural Semantics of the Time*, 51

and unintegrated experience of *Erlebnis*.”⁴⁴⁸ With this skepticism, Benjamin seeks an epistemological knowledge in which to blur the two relational entities. Experience does not designate, and even goes beyond the dichotomy between subject and object, thereby reaching a realm of total neutrality. Jay thinks this can be called “noumenal or ontological.”⁴⁴⁹ Drawing on Benjamin’s thinking about experience without a subject, Jay finds this possibility in uses of language in novels, particularly in free indirect style (*style indirect libre*), “represented speech” or “the middle voice.” For example, In *Madame Bovary*, Flaubert’s peculiar style shows in the voice of the narrator. Ambiguities abound, and it is not often clear whether the narrator identifies with the character or simply reports the event. Jay notes that in Etienne Lorck’s formulation about prose, “indirect free style was a means of one person reexperiencing the experiences of another (what Dilthey had called *nacherleben*), but not of communicating it to a third.”⁴⁵⁰ Although some scholars discover that this is not unique to the literary genre, finding it through the media of cameras and tape recorders, what is particular to fiction is the generation of ambiguity between character

⁴⁴⁸Jay, *Cultural Semantics of the Time*, 49. Yoneyama also differentiates *keiken* from *taiken* in the Japanese language in connection to the two German terms. For more detailed discussion, see footnote 68 of the introduction, Yoneyama, *Hiroshima Traces*, 234.

⁴⁴⁹Jay, *Cultural Semantics of the Time*, 50.

David Wang also attempts to interpret Lu Ling’s “Hungry Guo Su’e” in terms of Mao’s hunger discourse relating to the realm of the sublime and Kristeva’s conception of abjection with respect to the system of language and the male order. Wang notes that “[c]ontrary to the rational distinction based on the chain of language and naming, the feminine reestablishes these distinctions ‘by inscribing itself in sites of the body, particularly those bodily holes which confuse the boundary between inside and outside and therefore between the Self and the Other.’” Wang, *The Monster That is History*, 127. However, his illuminating observation needs a more complete discussion on how Lu’s fictional writing was theoretically influenced by Hu Feng, particularly concerning the issue of subject and object in realism. Moreover, Wang seems to read the work on the levels of form and content separately rather than examining how they are possibly interrelated. Wang mentions that Lu’s employment of diverse narrative techniques such as “interior monologues, overflowing free-indirect speeches, and rich symbolism in the vein of synesthesia” directly challenge Mao’s “Talks at the Yan’an Forum on Literature and Art” in which “[l]iterature was treated as an extension of life.” Wang, 127, 129. How can the concept of abjection represented in the work be related to Lu’s narrative strategy in both content and form? Situating the text in the context of Mao’s discourse on hunger in the 1940s is relevant, but this work was published in Chongqing in which the K.M.T. ruled, so it would be equally interesting if the discourse of hunger and food in this area were discussed.

⁴⁵⁰Jay, *Cultural Semantics of the Time*, 55.

and narrator in the narration and style. In Vološinov's view, there is an inherent friction between the character's interpretation of events and the narrator's storytelling; the former's speech is evaluated more than reported, and events are presented by the narrator whose narration is interrupted by its representation in fiction. Ann Banfield also discusses a possible erasure of an authorial existence in the narration of novels as follows: "[t]he Novel contains sentences with deictics which can be said to represent the perspective of no one; not objective, centerless, statements, but subjective yet subjectless, they render the appearances of things of things to no one, akin in this to the lightsensitive plate."⁴⁵¹ Jay concludes that "experience without the subject turns out to be experience with more than one subject inhabiting the same space."⁴⁵²

Although Jay finds the possibility of an experience without a subject mostly in fiction, I attempt to read Taiwanese people's experiences of Japanese colonialism in Manchukuo in this theoretical context, for non-fiction narration can take on similar modes. I first quote one passage from the text with my brief summary of the personal storytelling.

When we got on board a ship from Tianjin, the ship was very small. Thus, adults would not be very afraid that [their] children might get lost. One day, my brother, who is younger than me by six years, ran out to play all by himself and he then brought back a loaf of bread. We children were very happy when we saw it. [My] parents, however, asked loudly: "who gave you this?" [My] brother was little, perhaps he was not able to explain, [or] perhaps [he] forgot who gave it. Food was in short supply at that time; [people] like the Japanese from a reclamation village of the Northeast who sought shelter carried potato cakes in their rucksacks. Groups of people came out together and did not dare to eat it freely. [They] waited until the evening, took out a small piece, soaked it into water and then secretly staved their hunger off with it. Thus, at a time when bread became more valuable than gold, [if] someone was willing to give you a loaf of bread, it was a hard thing to believe. [My] mother continuously asked around about who gave this bread, but nobody was willing to come out and admit it. In the end, everybody said that it did not matter, if someone gave it to you, then just receive it. The mother, however, could not dispel her

⁴⁵¹Quoted in Jay, *Ibid.*, 58.

⁴⁵²*Ibid.*, 60.

doubts. She wanted to express her thanks to the giver, but could not find that person. This was a philanthropical love during a time of hardships that is not easy to find now. (537)

This story of sharing food and eating occurred when the speaker and his family returned to Taiwan via Tianjin after the Manchukuo regime collapsed. Chen Zhengde, who was 10 years old at that time, recalled this “unforgettable” (*wangbuliao*, 537) event. What is particularly intriguing in this narration is the unknown giver in the story. His/ her or their identities are unidentified. The narrator ambiguously conjectured that they might have been Japanese, which may not necessarily be true. In addition, the family does not know how many givers there were, whether it was an individual or a family. The narrator refers to these unknown people without a pronoun, rendering their identity more ambiguous and placing it in the realm of a subjectless experience. Even when he refers to his own family, he often omits possessive determiners or adjectives, except he refers to his brother, who is part of “we, the children,” like the narrator. This mode of narration can be interpreted in two ways. On the one hand, the narrator himself does not situate his subject position within the family, so that his father and mother are presented as if they were strangers or some third person, thereby obscuring his connection with the family. The familial bond, which makes an exclusive belonging possible, is not identified. On the other hand, by presenting his mother as a third person without any relationship to the narrator, her desire to identify the giver inscribes the potential fallout to render the non-subjective nature of sharing activity into being identified and centered, which turned the event into an example of recreating the dichotomy between giver and receiver, the subject of giving and the object of receiving. The significant implication of this memory is the very impossibility of pinpointing and locating a subject position; in other words, the possibility of the existence of an entity in which subject and object become indistinct. By describing a situation in which a subjectless or nonsubjective experience takes

place in a narration through memory, a historical moment in which there is no distinction between colonizer and colonized or victimizer and victimized comes to life. This event paradoxically highlights both the possibility and impossibility of identifying subject and object on the levels of experience and narration in different times. The narrator describes this event as “a philanthropic love” that is rarely found now, and it is presented as something to be retained and remembered as a human ideal. This statement suggests how a past event can be connected to the present time and serve to remind humans of an eleemosynary spirit and the virtue of sharing. At the same time, however, by capturing the event in which subject positions are unidentified and the mother’s desire to identify them, this event paradoxically also highlights the danger of reducing and categorizing personal experiences of the past with the goal of retaining clear-cut dichotomies which then serve as cultural sources for building a unified national history with teleological aims and implications that fix ambiguities of personalhood in a dominant way.

Conclusion

Taiwanese memories of the foods they consumed during the colonial period in Manchukuo served as a principal means to evoke and recreate a history of the nation. Throughout the chapter, I have attempted to show that there are wide ranges of incongruent gaps between the so-called “historical reality” of the time and the Taiwanese narration and reconstruction of their experiences of Japanese colonialism which were socially mediated by dietary imagination. The credibility and reliability of personal narratives of the significance of food are often questionable and are often even contradicted by other members of the same social strata among the Taiwanese. First, their experiences of food were transferred to narrations of the recurrent subject, white rice, imported from Japan and consumed by Taiwanese as a “Japanese” food,

creating a symbolic metaphor. As a metaphor, white rice stands for not only the Taiwanese's privileged social and racial status, but it also shows how the Taiwanese as colonized people produce signs of distinctions themselves to remap the racial order by subordinating other colonized people below themselves. They demarcate a hierarchal order of food and taste based on their preference for and repulsion by certain food items; like Guoli's body, an individual's eating of a particular food and the body's odor as a result of its consumption connote nationality and reflect the consumer's imperial desire to be recognized as part of the Japanese empire. However, the fact that not all Taiwanese people had white rice reveals how the cartography of colonial rule is complicated and differently enacted by class, thereby calling into question self-evident, dominant narratives of their status as second-class citizens to the Japanese. The inconsistency of their retrospections about white rice and food rationing even within the same family demonstrates that knowledge becomes a site of contestation and challenge to reconstitution and reproduction of any given knowledge of the past, thereby preventing it from being used to construct a hegemonic notion of a national identity and history. In this regard, their storytelling itself contains an inherent conflict when it both affirms and questions the credibility of narratives of experiences and memories of the past. It therefore "promotes the indefinite deferral of ultimate referential truth, the endless task of deconstruction."⁴⁵³

The Taiwanese informants' memories about food items also contain a significant moment for critical reflection on opposing modes of social eating and the production of tastes. The informants themselves might not necessarily have noticed or intended to represent this critical reflection, but it is evident to readers. The creation and consumption of multi-grain rice by both colonized people and the colonizers demonstrate that a new way of social eating can affect the whole food rationing

⁴⁵³ Yoneyama, *Hiroshima Traces*, 123.

system and lead to a production of a new cuisine and a taste that are not directly associated with ethnicity. Rather, the symbolism and values of such foods as a commodity may eventually be used and appropriated by a certain group of people. In contrast to the Chinese social anxiety over mixing blood, tellingly, the idea of mixing grains is affirmed and hybridity is also valued. Thus, the discourse of hybridity not only provides the Chinese with cultural and ideological sources to forge a homogenous nationality, but it also creates development toward the production of a symbolic, social value that disrupts the order of people and things assigned to food in Taiwanese people's imagination. Moreover, Taiwanese people's story of sharing food during the decolonization and repatriation period suggests the possibility of narrating a person's experience of the colonial past without respect to the binary opposition of subject-object or victimizer-victimized. It presents a significant moment of not being able to remember and identify the giver even as the moment itself is restored through the telling of the story. Thus, their storytelling contains two conflicting moments in which the boundaries between people and things are (re)mapped, and at the same time, they become indistinct during the very process of narration, effectively preventing them from being used for the designation of specific subjects to be identified and positioned. By capturing both constituent and deconstructive modes of narration for the formation of a national subject and a history, their testimonies of the colonial past profoundly problematize the very processes of remembering, narrating, and documenting experiences.

CHAPTER 5:

A 'WHITE' RACE WITH CULTURAL CAPITAL: SOUND, VOCALITY, MOVEMENT, AND THE RUSSIAN DIASPORA IN *WATASHI NO UGUISU* OF MANCHUKUO/THE JAPANESE EMPIRE

This chapter will examine cinematic representations of the Russian diaspora and the placement of music and sound in relation to movement in the film *Watashi no Uguisu* (My Nightingale), directed in 1943 by Shimazu Yasujiro and released only to audiences in Manchukuo.⁴⁵⁴ In comparison to the Chinese writers' portrayal of white Russians without supremacy, as discussed in chapter two, the Japanese Empire attempted to create cinematic images of Russians as a 'white Western' race with cultural capital by singling out their cultural heritage of classical music. To be sure, film serves first as an effective medium of control which manifests and transmits the state's blatant propaganda of racial harmony as well as the centrality of the Japanese

⁴⁵⁴I thank Soo Kyeong Hong for bringing to my attention the availability of this film, which makes this research possible. I also thank Professor Michael Rain at the University of Chicago for providing me with his English translation of Japanese subtitles for the film. All of the English subtitles in this chapter are his unless otherwise noted. Yamaguchi Takeshi notes that this film was released only in Manchukuo. Yamaguchi Takeshi, *Aishū no manshū eiga: Manshūkoku ni saita katsudōyatachi no sekai* (The pathos of Manchurian cinema: the world of cinema bloomed in Manchukuo) (Tokyo: Santen shobō, 1999), 179. He classifies this film as a feel-good movie. However, Yoshiko Yamaguchi, Li Xianglan (Li Kōran) mentions that it was never released to the public in any of the states of the Japanese Empire. Li Xianglan, *Wo de qianbansheng- Li Xianglanshuan* (Half of my lifetime spent in China: Biography of Li Xianglan), trans. He Ping & Zhang Li (Beijing: Shijie zhishi chubanshe, 1988), 191. In addition, this film is not listed in the section of either 1943 or 1944 in *The Record of Films in Harbin* which lists all the film titles released in Harbin each year. Qiang Donghao, ed. *Harbin dianying zhi* (The record of films in Harbin) (Harbin: Harbin chubanshe, 2003), 355. Li further notes that "[t]he Kwantung Army postponed the release of "My Nightingale," indefinitely because 'the movie does not have anything to teach and enlighten the Manchukuoans, is not entertaining, and [its content] goes against the national policy.'" Thomas Lahusen, "Dr Fu Manchu in Harbin: Cinema and Moviegoers of the 1930s," *The South Atlantic Quarterly* 99.1 (2000): 157. Also see, Li, 191. It can be surmised that the film was directly targeted at Japanese spectators; it has Japanese subtitles only and some dialogues in Japanese are not presented either in Russian or in Chinese subtitles throughout the film. However, Li notes that this film's content and form have European characteristics and looks like a European film imported into Japan because of the Japanese subtitles. Shimazu first wrote the film script in Japanese and then translated it into Russian. Li, *Wo de qianbansheng*, 185. For a better translation of Li's text, I also conferred with the original Japanese text and another version of the translation published in Hong Kong.

in the racial structure of the Empire by virtue of the power of visibility explicit in the typified representations of racial images. However, the significance of visual images also inevitably hinges upon acoustic and auditory events due to the simultaneous, correlational workings of sounds and images at the different levels of diegesis, thereby producing particular and significant meanings and effects upon the diegetic development of the film and spectatorship.⁴⁵⁵ From this standpoint, this film is a rich source to examine its significance in the history of the musical film genre in the Japanese Empire without limiting it to being a sheer propaganda film.

My Nightingale was produced by Man'ei (Chinese Manying), the Manchurian Film Association, which was established in 1937 in collaboration with the Toho Film Company in 1943.⁴⁵⁶ The film was discovered in 1984 and then released in 1986, but the film's running time was reduced from two hours to one hour and ten minutes.⁴⁵⁷ Li

⁴⁵⁵Claudia Gorbman defines diegesis as "being the *narratively implied spatiotemporal world of the actions and characters*." (italics in the original text) Claudia Gorbman, *Unheard Melodies: Narrative Film Music* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1987), 21. She also defines diegetic music as music "that (apparently) issues from a source within the narrative." Following Genette's three levels of narration, that is, diegesis, the extradiegetic ("narrative intrusion upon the diegesis," which she calls nondiegetic), and the metadiegetic (pertaining to narration by a secondary narrator), she proposes the terms nondiegetic and metadiegetic music. Any music used in narrative, either diegetic or nondiegetic can be seen as metadiegetic music, since it is related to diegetic events anyway. Gorbman, *Unheard Melodies*, 22-23. I also follow her definition of the terms and use nondiegetic and metadiegetic music consistently throughout the chapter. Michel Chion also defines musical scoring as non-diegetic sound. Michel Chion, *Audio-Vision: Sound on Screen*, trans. Claudia Gorbman (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990), 73.

⁴⁵⁶The M.F.A. was established on August 2 in 1937, after a proposal on the national policy of cinema was passed by the government in July 1936, which originated in the Department of Public Relations of the Southern Manchurian Railway Company. Hu Chang and Gu Quan, *Manying: Guoce dianying de mianmianguan* (Manchurian Film Association—observations on national films of Manchukuo) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1990), 20-29. The study presents comprehensive accounts of the operation of the M.F.A. and its activities. However, the major pitfall of the study, to a large extent, is attributable to their inability to access actual films and to clear cut and politically charged standards for interpretation of cultural products from the colonial periods. Regarding how directors and producers made a blueprint about the future of the M.F.A. that could expand its cultural and political influence beyond Manchukuo, independent from the Japan proper and other colonies of Japan, see Hong Soo Kyeong's MA thesis, *Manjugukūi sasangchōngwa manju yōnghwahyōphoe, 1937-1945* (Constructing a "Cinematic New Order" in the Thought War Era: The Manchurian Motion Picture Corporation, 1937-1945, translation in the original text) (Seoul: Yonsei University, 2007), 1-109. Li mentions that it was considered a Man'ei film but in fact was produced by the Toho Film Company. (Lahusen, "Dr Fu Manchu in Harbin," 156 and Li, *Wo de qianbansheng*, 184). But the film's cast information definitely substantiates the fact that the production was a collaborative work by both agencies.

⁴⁵⁷Lahusen, "Dr Fu Manchu in Harbin," 156.

Xianglan, the actress starring as Maria (or Mariko), recalls that it was impossible for Japanese filmmakers to produce this type of work in Japan (or Manchukuo) using many Western musical works from enemy countries. Shimazu and Iwasaki Akira, the producer, admired German and Australian musical films, such as *Kaigiwa odoru* and produced *My Nightingale* representing a Europe of Asia through the landscape of Harbin.⁴⁵⁸ With this definite intention from the outset, they explicitly sought to construct modern, Western images of the city and its living and cultural environments by subordinating the Chinese to White Russians and the Japanese. Throughout the entire film, the Chinese are depicted as servants, policemen, and anonymous, runaway masses on the streets, all of whom lack exposure to any culture and merely play supporting roles, in essence excluding them from the principal storylines. Contrary to the national policy of racial harmony, indeed, the cultural dominance of these two ethnic groups, the Japanese and the White Russians, and their privileged social status are clearly visible and are upheld even by the film's employment of sound, which serves to forge the cultural and racial values of all the peoples.

On the whole, at first glance, *My Nightingale* as a musical film positively valorizes the primacy of the culture of the White Russians over that of other ethnic groups in Manchukuo. By representing their possession and performance of cultural capital, the film ultimately establishes a racial hierarchy and further strengthens it according to the very cultural heritage and assets that the White Russians had and that the Japanese cultural agents wanted to promote. Thus, the political messages of the film are bifurcated along into two diametrically opposed positions: the overt

⁴⁵⁸Li, *Wo de qianbansheng*, 188 and Yamaguchi Yoshiko, *Ri Kōran: Watakushi no hansei* (Li Xianglan: half of my life) (Tokyo: Shichaosha, 1987), 250. The Japanese title itself is not quite grammatically correct either; I do not try to translate it here. I have checked the film lists produced in Nazi Germany but was not able to find this film because of a lack of source information. From Li's remark, it is likely that a German film might be a model for *My Nightingale*, since Masahiko Amakasu, the head of the M.F.A., traveled to Europe and visited the U.F.A. (Universum Film AG) studio as a gendarmerie officer in 1927. Jay Leyda, *Dianying: An Account of Films and the Film Audience in China* (Cambridge, MA: the M.I.T. Press, 1972), 131.

endorsement of the cultural and racial preeminence of the Japanese and exiled Russians in Manchukuo and tacit but powerful disapproval of the state policy of racial harmony. However, on another level, simultaneous representations of sounds and images with respect to gender further convey multi-layered meanings and complicate spatiotemporal dimensions within the film narrative. A wide variety of audio effects and visual images related to characters' action and speech in the film also recalls important theoretical topics on sound and movement discussed by Michel Chion and Gilles Deleuze. Drawing on Chion's pioneering yet crucial studies *Audio-Vision: Sound on Screen* and *Voice in Cinema*, and Deleuze's profound philosophical reflection on cinema in *Cinema I & II*, I attempt to show how the placement of sound and noise work in relation to image, movement, and time and also in association with gender and cinematic topography. In terms of methodology, incorporating these two studies into the analysis of the film not only expands on the topic of sound in cinema, but also provides relevant analytical frameworks to interpret the film beyond its function as state propaganda. The focus on sonic aspects in cinematography in this chapter will further identify filmic and artistic qualities of the film, whose significance transcends any political message of the time, overcoming a particular, narrow, and historically bounded message of the Pacific War. Chion notes that "[t]he synch points constitute an event in itself (independent of plot content), a pure event of audiovisual-mise-en scène."⁴⁵⁹ "By observing the kinds of music the image "resists" and the kinds of music cues it yields to, we begin to see the image in all its potential signification and expression."⁴⁶⁰ Chion's approach to sound in cinema seems to focus mainly on how sound can *signify* something to image based on realist conventions, though he

⁴⁵⁹Chion, *Audio-Vision*, 213.

⁴⁶⁰Chion, *Audio-Vision*, 213, 189.

A critical commentary on Chion's theory of sound in cinema and television from the perspective of local language in contemporary China, see Edward M. Gunn, *Rendering the Regional: Local Language in Contemporary Chinese Media* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006), 8-9.

mentions the possible existence of pure audiovisual events, irrespective of film storylines, and their potential signification. Deleuze's ideas about film in general offer fresh insight into what this potential signification means, since his readings of the films are not delimited by what an image signifies but are deeply concerned with philosophical, spatiotemporal realms that go beyond the actualization and signification of the image.

In the following discussion, I will examine the geographical representations of the cities and architecture and the construction of spatial characteristics of the city of Harbin in the film and their important implications in the film narrative. With respect to music and gender, my reading of the film primarily concentrates on the placement of sound, including noise, and "source music" and their relation to the development of the narrative at the levels of diegesis and meta-diegesis.⁴⁶¹ The other direction is to look into the workings of movement-images and audio-visual images in Deleuze's term, and to see multivalent and indeterminate aspects of them within images.⁴⁶²

⁴⁶¹ According to Atkin, "'source music' is that which 'is audible to the characters of the film' regardless of its point of emanation." Irene K. Atkins, *Source Music in Motion Pictures* (London: Associated University Press, 1983), 58. Quoted in Dean Duncan, *Charms that Soothe: Classical Music and the Narrative Film* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2003), 21. Dunn notes that source music is almost always precomposed, prerecorded music." One of the major functions of source music is to "enhance the dramatic element in a film." Ibid., 21. In *My Nightingale*, the sources of most music quoted in the film can be traced, although I do not intend to analyze all of them with a focus on what the music signifies to the narrative in detail.

⁴⁶² Drawing on Bergson's thesis of time, movement, and change, Deleuze newly formulates cinema with a focus on its movement aspect and time. His definition of a shot is the best example to understand his conceptualization of cinema. "The shot is the movement-image. In so far as it relates movement to a whole which changes, it is the mobile section of a duration," and "the duration or the whole" [is] a spiritual reality which constantly changes according to its own relations. Gilles Deleuze, *Cinema I: the Movement-Image*, trans. Hugh Tomlinson & Barbara Habberjam (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1986), 22 & 11. Introducing all of his philosophical theorization of cinema lies beyond the scope of this chapter, so I will only quote those of his discussions on certain images, music, and time which are relevant to this film in the body of this chapter later. However, Deleuze further defines the pure optical and sound images in comparison with movement-images as follows: "while the movement image and its sensory motor signs were in a relationship only indirect image of time (dependent on montage, the pure optical and sound image, its opsigns are directly connected to a time-image, which has subordinated movement. It is this reversal which means that time is no longer the measure of movement but movement perspective of time: it constitutes a whole cinema of time, with a new conception and new forms of montage." The sound and visual images have internal relations and the whole image becomes an object to read. Gilles Deleuze, *Cinema II: the Time-Image*, trans. Hugh Tomlinson and Robert Galeta (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1989), 22.

Drawing from Deleuze's discussion of cinema, the overall intent of the chapter is to explore how the film captures and represents particular cinematic mobile moments with sound and music and creates the new cinematic, hermeneutic space without definite and stable centers and boundaries, thereby locating the meanings of the Russian diaspora and the legacies of colonial cultures within Manchukuo and the Japanese Empire.

Synopsis

The film starts with a scene of an encounter of Razmovski, a White Russian count, with Sumida, a Japanese manager of the Matsuoka Company's branch office, on a steamship on the Songari (Songhua) River, heading to Harbin. In a flashback, the film shows Sumida's hospitality toward White Russians. He offers dinner to Razmovsky as well as to other Russian vocalists and musicians in his company's parlor and he welcomes them with a generous feast. Because of domestic geopolitical instability during the Chinese warlord regime, the two, plus Dmitri, a vocalist and friend of Razmovski who worked in the Russian Imperial Theater before the Russian Revolution of 1917, all ride in wagons to seek shelter together with Sumida's wife and Mariko, their daughter, who is called Maria by Dmitri later on. But they all become separated, and Sumida travels to Shanghai, Tianjin, and Beijing to look for his daughter and wife with the information Razmovski gives him, though his journey eventually ends without any findings.

Three years later, Sumida drops by Razmovski's barber shop, telling him he will return to Japan and then go to Southeast Asia. After fifteen more years, Razumovski accidentally finds an advertisement for a performance by Dmitri in a newspaper and tells Mr. Tatsumi, Sumida's friend, about this. Sumida's wife had died during their flight, and Dmitri adopted Maria and is teaching her how to sing. Tatsumi

meets Dmitri in a costume room of a theater and tells him that Sumida is in Southeast Asia.

In the meantime, when Dmitri sings at a theater, the Bolshevik sympathizers in the audience respond to the song with aggressive boos and hisses, thereby drowning out the performance. As a result of the sudden fiasco, Dmitri loses his job, and Maria quits her study and starts to sell flowers on the streets. When a Chinese policeman prohibits the sales, Ueno, a young Japanese man, shows up, tries to defend her, and purchases all the flowers for his house, which is also used as his painting studio. The movie cuts to a scene in which Maria practices singing with Dmitri, after which Maria has a chance to sing the song, “My Nightingale,” at a charity concert for Russian émigrés and attracts the favorable attention of the audience. Ueno also comes to the concert, but Dmitri is displeased to see Ueno speaking to Maria. Persuaded by Mrs. Mirskaya, the soprano from the Russian Imperial Theater, he and Maria try to move to Shanghai in the hope that people in Shanghai will acknowledge and cherish his art as much as Harbin people do, but trains stop running due to the outbreak of the Manchurian Incident. Their lives threatened, Dmitri asks Maria to wear Chinese clothes and takes her to a harbor where the Japanese hide themselves, but he himself goes to a Russian refuge. While Ueno takes care of her, the Japanese defeat the Chinese warlord regime and thus establish Manchukuo. Afterwards, Sumida comes back from Southeast Asia and asks after Dmitri, who has now become too sick to perform. At the earnest behest of Sumida, Dmitri takes the stage and sings “Song of the Golden Calf” from Act 2 of *Faust*, but it is interrupted by a heart attack. As Dmitri is about to die, he leaves his plea in his will for Maria to return to Japan, the country of her biological father, with Sumida. At the end of the film, Maria sings “My Nightingale” in front of Dmitri’s gravestone, and Ueno stands beside her at a slight distance.

History of Japanese Musical Film and *My Nightingale*

This section will begin with the existing scholarship on Japanese musical films during the war period to understand the specific social and historical contexts in which this type of work was produced and to locate it in the history of Japanese film culture. In her recent study, “Ongaku eiga no yukue: nitchū sensō kara daitōa sensōe” (Situations of Musical Film from the [Second] Sino-Japanese War to the Greater East Asian War), Sasagawa Keiko uses musical film as an analytical category and examines how it developed in relation to particular political and cultural ideologies under socio-historical conditions from 1937 to 1945. More specifically, this article probes how the changing relationships among Japan, the U.S., and Asia are connected to “the inflammation of a competing or anti-American nationalism” and how musical film transformed as it became interknit with national policies and market forces as the war intensified.⁴⁶³ Despite the fact that musical films were produced in large quantities and the term “musical film” spread after 1931, this film genre has been neglected in the history of Japanese film.

The Japanese film industry was intimidated by extensive importation of American musical films which had the technology of talkies. Thus, there was a trend in which Japanese musical films were made in either imitation of European musical films or were undervalued and criticized as a way to express resistance to American ones. After the outbreak of the Second Sino-Japanese War in July of 1937, the export of films to foreign countries increased rapidly during 1937 and 1938. Musical films were considered one of the essential means for earning foreign currency and served to

⁴⁶³Sasagawa Keiko, “Ongaku eiga no yukue: nitchū sensō kara daitōa sensōe,” (Situations of musical film from the [Second] Sino-Japanese War to the Greater East Asian War) in *Nihon eiga to nashonarizumu: 1931-1945* (Japanese Film and Nationalism: 1931-1945), ed. Iwamoto Kenji (Tokyo: Shinwasha, 2004), 321.

Regarding the use of music in coteremporary Chinese film, see Rey Chow’s study on *Huang tūdi* (Yellow Earth, dir. by Chen Kaige, 1984), “Silent Is the Ancient Plain: Music, Filmmaking, and the Concept of Social Change in the New Chinese Cinema, in Rey Chow, *Primitive Passions: Visuality, Sexuality, Ethnography, and Contemporary Chinese Cinema* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995), 79-107.

exhibit national prestige to Europe, the U.S., and other Asian countries. Another reason for paying great attention to musical film had to do with its universality; music and dance could transcend barriers of language and culture without respect to nationality. However, in fact, the actual spectators of films exported to the U.S. were chiefly Japanese residents in the U.S., deriving from Americans' lack of understanding of Japanese culture and customs. As a way to show off the national pride of Japan, anti-American ideology was adopted, but *One Hundred Men and a Girl*, directed by Henri Koster in 1937, was favorably suggested by Japanese critics as a model for a Japanese musical film. This film adopted an international form of musical film but eschewed jazz, a symbol of America; instead, it used European classical music, which was the primary reason for the compliments by the critics. Sasagawa reasons that, given that the Japanese attempted to promote and realize a civilization based on Europeanism since the Meiji era, it is predictable that "Europe" as ideology was prioritized over "America" by the critics. They viewed *One Hundred Men and a Girl* as a canonical work and suitable to be adapted into a Japanese musical film, since it represents the modernity of "Europe," i.e., European civilization, whose value is placed over that of the United States on account of its international characteristics.⁴⁶⁴

During the Greater East Asian War, musical film was still perceived as an effective tool for enlightening aboriginal people in Southeast Asia. The first musical film targeting the South is *Ongaku dai singun* (Grand March Music) which was produced under the guidance of the Japanese Intelligence Agency and the army in 1942. This musical film adopts a revue form that symbolizes the 1930s. The *revue* form places more emphasis on elements of *atorakushon* (attraction) than other forms of musical films, and this is likely to lead people of Southeast Asia to easily understand the film. However, the author surmises that the employment of revue

⁴⁶⁴Sasagawa, "Ongaku eiga no yukue," 328.

served to claim the legitimacy of Japan's new hegemony over the South. This directly shows that Japan had capacity equal to the U.S., since *revue* symbolizes Japanese modernism which emerged along with mass influx of Americanization. The film aims to exhibit images of "a modern nation Japan" by inserting pertinent shots of things that embody modern civilization such as the "airplane, automobile, and locomotive" at places where actions are.⁴⁶⁵ Keiko notes that "[u]nlike the magnanimous and carefree revue films in the 1930s, those films made during the Greater East Asia War were the same as those in which Japan remains a West amid the East while being a member of the East; they employed American representations with a purpose to exclude American elements yet claim a Japanese modernity and thus came to convey a reflected ideology."⁴⁶⁶ Thus, from the outset, the musical film genre developed on the basis of its dualistic nature: Japan's desire for being identified as the West in the East and her claim to be the center as well as a member of the East. Despite this observation, the author's attempt to link the employment of a specific music genre, such as jazz and classical music, to Americanization and Europeanization Japan still merits a much fuller examination of the actual signification of the genres, especially for those films which combine jazz and classical music.

Michael Baskett's study, *The Attractive Empire: Transnational Film Culture in Imperial Japan*, shows how China and Manchuria were represented in Japanese popular songs and films and that their modes of representation are quite similar to those of popular songs about the South. He notes that inserting popular songs in film was one of the chief ways for filmmakers to seek profit in the mid to late 1920s. Thus, the numbers of songs about the exoticism of the space and people in the South significantly increased, and they often described the primitiveness and the readiness of the South to be conquered by the Japanese. The production of Japanese musical films

⁴⁶⁵Sasagawa, "Ongaku eiga no yukue," 341.

⁴⁶⁶Ibid., 341-342.

derived from the growing urban population in Japan Proper, and they were more concerned with the spectacles of the city than the narrative or music per se. Just as the South was perceived as an untamed place, songs about China and Manchuria were also associated with their exotic geographical features and romantic themes, eventually giving rise to the production of continent films (*tairiku eiga*). China was considered a place to be used by the Japanese and was feminized, particularly in the film *The Monkey King* by presenting only female characters who are disguised as Chinese, one of whom is Ri Kōran.⁴⁶⁷

Yomota Inuhiko directly comments on the social and political milieu in which *My Nightingale* was produced in his book, *Nihon no joyū* about the Japanese actress. First, the use of the Russian language in the entire film is particularly noteworthy given the sociopolitical circumstances in which Manchukuo established Japanese as the national language since 1937 at the peak of wartime control of thoughts. Second, the important point of the film lies in the representations of the sorrow of the Russians, whose destiny as exiles is to have nowhere to turn and the power of the music, heightened by Ri Kōran, who plays a soprano. Even though this film does express justification of the Japanese army's invasion into China and the accompanying establishment of the state of Manchukuo, it was produced on the basis of the national policy, the "harmony of the five races," to represent that policy. Third, the film hints at

⁴⁶⁷Michael Baskett, *The Attractive Empire: Transnational Film Culture in Imperial Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008), 53-61. Baskett does not mention Sasagawa's article in the book. Sasagawa sees Toho's trilogy, *Song of the White Orchid* (*Byakuran no uta*, 1939), *China Nights* (*Shina no yoru*, 1940), and *Vow in the Desert* (*Nessa no chikai*, 1940) as continental musical films. In particular, *China Nights* adopts a scene from an American film, *So Red the Rose*, directed by King Vidor in 1935, and it is a typical, mixed musical film that projects Japanese superiority over the Chinese. After the start of war, the production and popularity of these films does not so much spring from their status as a substitute for musical film as from a shift of the center of market forces from the cities to the regional areas with an aim to procure profits of talkie films. This change brought about the emergence of a new audience consisting of factory workers and their families following the boom of the munitions industry, whose taste was not modern. Afterwards, *Roukyōku eiga*, a Japanese-style musical film, emphasizing loyalty and sacrifice, flourished, and this reveals lower class' patriotic nationalism (Sasagawa, *Ibid.*, 329-335). However, the author seems to simplify the issue of class and class taste. It is possible that workers in rural areas could also have a modern taste and people in the cities also have patriotic nationalism based on traditional ideology.

a possible melodrama. During this time, the M.F.A. consisted of melodramatic films that transcended nationality and language and significantly deviated from the early imitations of Hollywood films and a colonial ideology shown in Toho's continental trilogy: *Song of the White Orchid*, *China Nights*, and *Vow in the Desert*. Inuhiko infers that this was possible largely due to the Harbin Orchestra's musical prowess, which was featured in the film several times, as well as to the cultural richness of the city the Russians built and where most exiles still lived in the 1940s.⁴⁶⁸ However, as mentioned earlier, Chinese characters are subordinated to Russians and the Japanese in the film, an evident example of a colonial setting essentially immanent in the fundamental structure of the narrative. Rather than directly dealing with asymmetrical racial relationships among characters, I will pay more attention to the ways in which the city of Harbin is articulated by means of its architecture in association with Sumida's physical movement and the use of music and noises.

Constructing Harbin as a “Western” Cultural City: (Physical) Movement, Spatiality, and the Russian Diaspora

The major film narrative is set in the city of Harbin and the city is represented as a modern and ‘Western’ city, marked by cathedrals, crosses, and music. Sumida's travels to the cities, such as Shanghai, Tianjin, and Beijing to look for his wife and daughter indicate not only the male's capability to move, but they also implicate important cultural and spatial features of the cities that cultural agents attempted to construct and promote. They are noticeably contrasted with the images of Harbin and function as a backdrop to stress Harbin's distinctive nature as a modern city oriented to Western-culture. Moreover, his movement is accompanied by music as well as

⁴⁶⁸Yomota Inuhiko *Nihon no joyū* (Japanese Actresses) (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2000), 137-138. Regarding popular perceptions of Li Xianglan and the fan culture of the star in film magazines published in Shanghai during the wartime, see Shelley Stephenson, “ “Her Traces Are Found Everywhere”: Li Xianglan and the “Greater East Asia Film Sphere,” ” in *Cinema and Urban Culture in Shanghai, 1922-1943*, ed. Yingjin Zhang (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999), 222- 245.

noises, either in diegetic or non-diegetic form, so that the employment of music and sound is inherently inseparable from the geographical representations of the architecture of the cities, each of which is in fact conducive to form geographical, cultural, and political meanings attached to that space. Along with the construction of spatiality in the film, the architectural structures of theaters where the characters perform add their temporality and symbolic meaning to the film. Thus, in addition to the temporality embedded in the music itself, the film plays with spatial and temporal figurations to transmit the idealistic images of the city where the exiled Russians were accepted with great hospitality and Western culture flourished profusely. In the following discussion, I will address how the film represents the spatial and temporal characteristics of Harbin in association with architecture and music, particularly concerning cathedrals and theaters.

First, Harbin is represented as a religious city replete with Orthodox churches. The first scene of the film provides audiences with Razmovski's impression of the city on board the ship as his answers to Sumida's question about what the city looks like. He tells him that "[t]he cross on the church is coming to meet us," and he makes the sign of the cross, indicating his belief in the Orthodox Church. This scene is shown in an extreme long shot, so that the viewers cannot quite see the churches, but a cross and a copula on top of the church dome are captured. As the narrative develops further, more concrete images of the cathedrals – the Cathedral of Saint Nicholas, the Cathedral of Iverskaya, and the Cathedral of Saint Bakeluofusifukaya (also known as the Guardian of the Virgin Church or Church of Ukraine), and the Cathedral of St. Sophia – appear in that order. The first two images of St. Nicholas and Iverskaya are followed by chime bells and a female choir singing in a slow-paced low tone, and the same music is playing at a hospital where Sumida stays to have his leg injury treated. The chime bells are diegetic music, territory sounds, to use Chion's term, but the

choirs are non-diegetic, hinting that Sumida's recollection of separation from his family is tinged with apprehension, inner sorrow, and concerns over his own illness.⁴⁶⁹ Moreover, it creates a pious atmosphere for the filmic narrative space, a more authentic presentation of a *mise-en-scène*, which actually implicates important symbolic and historical meanings of the religious spaces for Russian immigrants in Manchuria at that time. The Cathedral of St. Nicholas is one of the important narrative spaces because Maria sells her flowers on the street in front of the building. A cross of the Cathedral is even shown from the window when she stops by Ueno's place to sell her flowers. The Guardian of the Virgin Church is shown in an establishing shot indicating the passage of three years, the time during which Sumida looks for Maria. An image of the Cathedral of St. Sophia is used to announce the end of the Manchurian Incident and the establishment of Manchukuo. In the final scene, Maria sings "My Nightingale," in front of Dmitri's gravestone at Uspenski Cemetery, which is filled with crosses.

According to James Carter, Harbin was divided into four different districts, and the Cathedral of St. Nicholas was built in Nangang (Southhill) on the south bank of the Sungari River, New Town, the center of the new city where the C.E.R. (Chinese Eastern Railway) offices, the station, and foreign consulates were located.⁴⁷⁰ The dominant population groups were Russo-European, and most Chinese inhabited the Daowai (outside the tracks, Fujiadian, Fu Family Domains), though the number of Chinese living in districts other than the Daowai increased later on. The Cathedral of

⁴⁶⁹“Let us call *ambient sound* sound that envelops a scene and inhabits its space, without raising the question of the identification or visual embodiment of its source: bird singing, churchbells ringing. We might also call them *territory sounds*,. . . .” (italics in the original text). Chion, *Audio-Vision*, 75.

⁴⁷⁰Harbin was called Paris of the East or the Moscow of the East. However, Japanese travelers called it “the City of Eros,” deriving from prostitution that thrived in the region. James Carter, *Creating a Chinese Harbin: Nationalism, in an International City 1916-1932* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2002), 29. Yang Rongqiu and Xie Zhongtian point out that the latter refers to a feature of the city as a whole and the former refers to its artistic style of architecture of the city. Yang Rongqiu and Xie Zhongtian, *Tianjie yicai: Harbin zhongyang dajie* (Heaven street and its splendor: the Central Street of Harbin) (Beijing: Jiefangjun wenyi chubanshe, 2000), 65-66.

St. Nicholas was a symbol of the city and its cultural, religious, and administrative centrality is expressed in its location at the top of the hill with other buildings established around it. Carter also notes that most Russian vocalists lived in Harbin at that time.⁴⁷¹ Yang Rongqiu and Xie Zhongtian offer a more detailed account regarding the origin of the establishment of the Cathedral of St. Nicholas (1900) and its political implications. When Russian colonizers, subjects of Nicholas II, the last Czar of Russia, selected the Qinjia Hill to build their administrative agencies, they expressed their loyalty to him to the utmost by launching a project to materialize “a Yellow Russia” in the East.⁴⁷² In addition, they decided to build the “great eastern capital of Yellow Russia” to counteract their posting away from the homeland and loneliness, and thus they adopted the architectural style of Moscow. The Cathedral of St. Nicholas was called “the First Orthodox Church in the Far East,” a symbol of the supreme power of the Czar.⁴⁷³ Although the authors do not mention a specific name of a church in Moscow that was taken as a model for it, their research is an important reference for understanding why the Cathedral serves as one of the pivotal spatial points around which major events take place in the film.

Dmitri’s first song in the lounge of Sumida’s company at the beginning of the film is solely dedicated to the Czar Nicholas II, symbolized by a medal from the Emperor that he holds in his hand and is shown in an extreme close-up shot. As Dmitri prepares to sing, Razmovski stands up from a couch to pay homage to the Czar. On the surface level, as Carter notes, the Cathedral of St. Nicholas in the film stands for the center of Russian Harbin where there is less of a Chinese presence or cultural heritage; the Chinese districts are hardly shown and are mostly presented as backdrops to foreshadow upcoming volatile situations which soon erupt into the war with

⁴⁷¹Carter, *Creating a Chinese Harbin*, 12, 17-19.

⁴⁷²Yang and Xie, *Tianjie yicai*, 66.

⁴⁷³Yang and Xie, *Tianjie yicai*, 38, 65-66.

frightened masses running away in all directions. However, unlike the names of the other cathedrals, the name, St. Nicholas, is directly taken from the former Czar who also served as a pope of Russia Orthodox Church, and it pertains to Dmitri's unwavering allegiance to him as a member of the Imperial Theater. Despite his stringent economic condition brought about by the Bolsheviks' hostility that necessitates Maria's quitting her school and selling flowers on the street, he refuses to sing "flashy and bright popular songs" in order to maintain "the reputation of the whole Imperial Theater." Given that the Japanese outright suppressed communism in Manchukuo, Dmitri's fealty to the Czar is in alignment with the state's public policy on what type of ideology should be promoted in a propaganda film.

The four other churches also have important historical and symbolic meanings for Russian immigrants equivalent to those of the Cathedral of St. Nicholas in the actual history of Russian migration to Manchuria. The Cathedral of Iverskaya was built on orders of a Russian general to commemorate Russian soldiers who died in the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905) in 1907, and it is a military-centered church. The Church of Ukraine (1922) is marked by its cupola and it was used as a cemetery for Russians.⁴⁷⁴ Koshizawa Akira notes that the church was used as an old Russian cemetery, and that there was a shrine for soldiers who died in the Boxer Rebellion (1900).⁴⁷⁵ In the film, the image of the Cathedral of St. Sophia is presented as a background to signal the beginning of the new era, that is, the establishment of Manchukuo. It was built in March, 1907, as a military church where the Fourth Infantry Army of East Siberia of Lanhandun was stationed.⁴⁷⁶ In the film, except for the Cathedral of St. Sophia, the images of the Churches are placed in chronological order beginning with the earliest constructed, each of which is directly tied to the

⁴⁷⁴Shi Fang, Liu Shuang, and Gao Ling, *Harbin eqiaoshi* (A History of Harbin's immigrant Russians) (Harbin: Heilongjiang renmin chubanshe, 2003), 475-476.

⁴⁷⁵Koshizawa Akira, *Harbin no toshi keikaku* (City planning of Harbin) (Tokyo: Souwasha, 1989), 50.

⁴⁷⁶Shi, et al., *Harbin eqiaoshi*, 474.

people and agencies who sacrificed their lives in the founding of the city by carrying out missions assigned by the Emperor. In this regard, the churches embody not only the centrality of the city, but they are carefully selected to commemorate Russian legacies of the past and present both inside and outside the Russian Empire.

Sumida's travels to Shanghai, Tianjin, and Beijing illustrate how the cultural agents strived to construct the cultural advancement of Harbin by presenting rather simplified yet typical images of the three cities mentioned above, thereby assuring their strong preference for Harbin as a modern cultural center. Shanghai is another place where people value Dmitri's superb vocality and the verve. Thus, he thinks of moving to it, joining other friends who already settled down there in one of the largest international cities where many White Russians moved.⁴⁷⁷ The Union Assurance Co. Building and trolleys are selected to stand for the city.⁴⁷⁸ Sumida looks at an advertisement showing dancing at a bar on a building, and a theater is shown, thus accentuating a popular aspect of Shanghai culture. Also, Beijing is represented by the Zhengyangmen, i.e., the Qianmen (front gate), with the traditional architecture, music, and noises that sound like Beijing opera, and Pailou, the ceremony arch.⁴⁷⁹ Stores selling antiques on the street and noises symbolize Tianjin, sounds which are common in Shanghai. However, the film inserts a famous Russian folk song, "Stenka Razin," when Sumida on board a ship. The scene of the sea is followed by a theatrical setting

⁴⁷⁷After the outbreak of the Manchurian Incident, many Russians in Harbin in fact moved into Tianjin and Shanghai or into any country that would issue visas to them. Boris Raymond and David R. Jones, *The Russian Diaspora, 1917-1941* (Lanham, Maryland: The Scarecrow Press, 2000), 50.

⁴⁷⁸This building was built in 1916 and renovated from 2002-2004 to make it into "one of the most extravagant places in Shanghai. It is currently used as the Shanghai Municipal Institute of Architectural Design." Nobuyuki Yoshida, *Beijing Shanghai Architecture Guide, Peking, Shanhai kenchiku gaidobukku* (Tokyo: A+U Publishing Co., Ltd., 2005), 113.

⁴⁷⁹The gate also looks like the Xizhimen, the South Gate, but it has Pailou, the ceremony arch, though its characters are not shown in this scene. Fu Gongge points out that only the Qianmen has tablets on the embrasured water tower. Fu Gongge, *Beijing laochengmen* (The Old City Gates of Beijing, translation in the original text) (Beijing: Beijing meishu sheying chubanshe, 2002), 31. The Pailou from the second shot of Beijing has four characters on the tablet, so it looks like Dagao xuandian (Lofty black palace) on Jingshan Street; other Pailous usually have two or three characters, indicating the names of the locations. Other architectural structures on the street while Sumida rides in a rickshaw also fully conjure up old images of the city with Chinese historical relics and tradition.

of the sea in which Dmitri sings the Russian song with other vocalists in the Tianjin Theater. The theater has indoor traditional style architecture which contrasts with the modern, outdoor shell theater of Harbin, i.e., the amphitheater, where Maria sings “My Nightingale.” Although the film shows other indoor theaters in Harbin, the unique architectural structure of the amphitheater is the visual manifestation of Harbin’s modernity and its flourishing cultural activities. At the same time, it represents Maria’s Japanese identity such as prowess in modern, Western style music and her ability to sing modern Western style songs just as well as Westerners do or far better than they can, suggesting the Japanese’s leading role in the preservation of superlative Western music.⁴⁸⁰

In the scene above, the music serves as a narrative device that smoothly brings together the ending of Sumida’s journey to search for his daughter with her maturation under Dmitri’s care. The employment of the sound bridge technique in films in general not only marks a transition of narrative in time and space, but it also provides cinematic continuity for it by making a tight connection between the narrative flow and the character’s physical movement.⁴⁸¹ Inserting music to accompany scenes of characters’ travels also contributes to the construction of a cinematic imaginary space in and outside the city. For instance, films produced after the Nazi’s annexation of Vienna in 1938 use rich resources of culture and history, particularly music and its related fields, to forge the city as an imaginary space that is unaffected by reality. Sabine Hake points out that “[i]nteriors displaced exteriors as the main sites of Viennese culture and society, and the protagonists’ physical movements within the

⁴⁸⁰I thank Professor Edward Gunn for leading me to pay closer attention to the architectural structure of the theater and its meaning in the narrative.

⁴⁸¹David Bordwell and Kristin Thompson, *Film Art: An Introduction* (Boston: McGraw-Hill, 2004), 373-374. “Sound may belong to earlier time than the image in another way. The sound from one scene may linger briefly while the image is already present in the next scene. This is called a sound bridge.” Ibid., 373. The song of “Stenka Razin” is heard over Sumida and Dmitri’s journeys. In this case, the sound is a flashback and the images are a flashforward on the levels of diegesis and meta-diegesis.

city became increasingly limited to musical movements, as it were.”⁴⁸² In *My Nightingale*, both Maria and Dmitri’s movements also reveal this tendency in that they usually practice singing at home together, or else on stage either together or as performer and viewer of the performer. However, Sumida’s travels are identified and structured by music and noises that highlight the unique nature of the physical and cultural landscapes of the cities, carrying symbolic connotations from the abstraction of their historical and cultural heritages. In this light, music and sound function as a signifier of spatiality, and Sumida’s physical movement further (re)frames the space by dint of acoustic effects of sound and music which further the narrative flow and its development, thereby hierarchically displaying the cinematic symbolism of the culturally and religiously privileged space with Western classical music and symbols of Russian Orthodoxy.⁴⁸³

However, at the dimension of the meta-filmic narrative, Sumida’s movement also involves the representation and production of a sonic, cinematic, and imaginary space through the vocal figuration of his physical movement on the sea, along with the meaning of the lyrics to “Stenka Razin.” More specifically, the song expresses the popular struggle against the oppression of Czarist rule and landlords and a political desire for toppling serfdom and feudalism. The textual message of the song is directly opposite to the symbolic meaning of the churches in Harbin, cultural monuments commemorating Czar Nicholas and builders of the Empire and Dmitri’s political

⁴⁸²Sabine Hake, *Popular Cinema of the Third Reich* (Austin: University of Texas, 2001), 152.

⁴⁸³Regarding the denomination of religious communities and their relation to ethnic identity, see Elena Chernoluskaya, “Religious Communities in Harbin and Ethnic Identity of Russian Emigrés,” trans. Julia Trubikhina, *South Atlantic Quarterly* 99.1 (Winter 2000): 79-94. There were many different sectors of Christian religious communities and churches, but the Polish and Catholic communities can be seen as one entity in that most Poles believed in Catholic Christianity. With this example and groups of people such as Germans, Lithuanians, Latvians, etc., who did not belong to a single denomination, Chernoluskaya argues that “the perception of religion as an element of culture by the representatives of a specific national diaspora in the multiethnic denominational and multid denominational ethnic groups was ambivalent in nature. Religion was perceived as both as “one’s own” and as a “shared one with elements belonging to the ‘Other.’” This is why ethnic self-expression in such diasporas was predominantly shifted to the nondenominational sphere.” Chernoluskaya, 94.

position as a loyalist to the Russian Empire. The Stenka Razin of the song was a Cossack who, as a commander, assembled large and diverse bands of people, such as the Don Cossacks, and Russian serfs, and non-Russian tribes, and attacked the coastal area of Persia in the 1670s. Proclaiming himself the rescuer of serfs, he exhorted peasants to rebel against landlords by ensuring their freedom, and so he seized some cities in the Volga River region. However, his rebellions were suppressed by the Czar's army and he himself was executed.⁴⁸⁴ The lyrics of the song are:

From beyond the wooded island,
To the river wide and free,
Proudly sail the arrow-breasted,
Ships of Cossack yeomanry.

On the first is Stenka Razin,
With a princess at his side,
Drunken, holds a marriage revel,
With his beautiful young bride.

But behind them rose a whisper,
"He has left his sword to woo;
One short night, and Stenka Razin has become a woman too!"

Stenka Razin hears the jeering,
Of his discontented band,
And the lovely Persian princess,
He has circled with his hand.

His black brows have come together,
As the waves of anger rise,
And the blood comes rushing swiftly,
To his piercing, jet-black eyes.

"I will give you all you ask for,
Life and heart, and head and hand,
"Echo rolls the pealing thunder,
Of his voice across the land.

⁴⁸⁴Vadim Prokhorov, *Russian Folk Songs: Musical Genres and History* (Lanham, Md.: Scarecrow Press, 2002), 119. Also, Roberta Reeder, trans. and ed., *Russian Folk Lyrics* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992), 8, 66.

“Volga, Volga, mother Volga,
Deep and wide beneath the sun,
You have never seen a present,
From the Cossack of the Don.

And that peace might rule as always,
All my free-born men and brave,
Volga, Volga, mother Volga,
Volga, make this girl a grave.”

With a sudden, mighty movement,
Razin lifts the beauty high,
And he casts her where the waters,
Of the Volga move and sigh.

Now a silence like the grave sinks,
To all those who stand to see,
And the battle-hardened Cossacks,
Sink to weep on bended knee.

“Dance, you fool, and men, make merry!
What has got into your eyes?
Let us thunder out a chanty,
Of a place where beauty lies.”⁴⁸⁵

First, at the textual level, the song manifests a praise of Razin’s leadership, military achievements, and fortitude in the raid of Persia, describing their political desire for the end of Czarist rule and serfdom, a peace period for the masses. In the film, the song’s association with the peasantry is also reflected in the selection of the vocalists’ costumes, since one of the male vocalists wears *kosovorotka*, a traditional Russian shirt for men, inside his jacket. The film’s particular attention to popular culture and folk elements in Russian culture also reveals itself in the playing of folk string instruments such as *domra* and *balalaika* or of folk style music within classical music such as the Trépak, also known as the Russian Dance, from act two of *The Nutcracker* by Tchaikovsky. In terms of choreography, the Russian Dance is originally derived

⁴⁸⁵Halasek, M. Lesley, “Folk Music Violin,” *Folk Music for the Violin Learner* no. 8 (Nov. 2002), http://halamuspublishing.com.au/Archived_Articles08.html (accessed February 9, 2009).

from *Tropak*, a Ukrainian folk dance, but it adopts melodies from both Russian and Ukrainian music.⁴⁸⁶ At the charity concert in *My Nightingale*, all the male musicians wear plain *kosovorotka* and play “In the Moonlight” by Vasily Andreyev (1861- 1918) with a blithe lilt, whose musical tonality is cheerfully brisk at a lively tempo. According to Vadim Prokhorov, the *balalaika* was originally derived from *domra* and is first attested to in 1715. “The domra was used by Russian and jesters and minstrels, called *skomorokhs*, who were at that time the mouth-piece of the Russian revolt against repression. In 1649 [,] Czar Alexei issued this decree: Whenever *domras* appear, they should be confiscated, and after those objects of demonic games are broken [*sic*]. And people who play them should be beaten and sent to the end of our state.”⁴⁸⁷ As a result of the active enactment of this decree, the *domras* disappeared and were not mentioned in any written records or drawings, but Russians found ways to recreate the domra and made it in six different sizes of *balalaika* with a triangular body and three strings, though the original instrument had only two strings. Andreyev organized a folk orchestra of *domras* and *balalaika* in 1888.⁴⁸⁸

On one level, the architecture of the cities represents the crystallization of cultural and religious heritages from the past and at the time of the film production, functioning as either backdrops for the film or spectacles for the audience. On another level, the juxtaposition of them with other images of the cities and nature and vocal expressions shows how different, opposing images work to indicate a change and transition in movement to produce a new meaning in cinema. In discussing the Soviet School’s use of montage, particularly paralleling images by Eisenstein, i.e., the montage of opposition, Deleuze observes that the opposing movement-images form

⁴⁸⁶“Trepak (Tchaikovsky),” *Wikipedia* (Jan. 2009), <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Trepak> (accessed March 11, 2009). This work was written in 1891-1892 “in response to a commission from the Imperial Opera at St. Petersburg. . . .” However, it gained less popularity compared with his other ballet works. Humphrey Searle, *Ballet Music: An Introduction* (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1973), 80-82.

⁴⁸⁷Prokhorov, *Russian Folk Songs*, 13.

⁴⁸⁸Prokhorov, *Russian Folk Songs*, 13.

what Eisenstein termed the “organic spiral,” linked together and culminating in what is called the “golden section.” In the scenes of Sumida’s and Dmitri’s travels, both quantitative and qualitative sets of images are presented: Sumida’s solitary travel: Dmitri’s travel with Maria and a Russian woman who seems like an *au pair*: Sumida’s walking and the passing masses on the streets. Sumida’s travel from land to sea is related to the qualitative, and the first train from Harbin to Beijing moves forward from right to left, while the second train, which Dmitri takes, moves forward from left to right. “The opposition serves the dialectical unity whose progress from the initial to the final situation it marks.”⁴⁸⁹ The oppositions are organically linked to each other and induce changes and transition from the one to the other. The workings of the instant, opposing images eventually trigger a sudden “pathetic” leap or upsurge, a new quality and meaning in both content and form.⁴⁹⁰ In Eisenstein’s use of montage, time is prolonged and “remains an indirect image which is born from the organic composition of movement-images, *but the interval, as well as the whole [tout] takes on a new meaning*. The interval, the variable present, has become the qualitative leap which reaches the raised power of the instant.”⁴⁹¹ By contrast, in Sumida’s travels, the duration of his action is greatly shortened by elliptical editing using the technique of dissolves and cutaways, etc.⁴⁹² At the same time, however, the travel sequence with the images of the sea and the singing of “Stenka Razin” create an indirect image of time, traversing the present and the past. As mentioned earlier, on a diegetic level, the lyrics and theatrical setting of the river provide a visual continuity of the sea to the narrative. On a meta-diegetic level, it also represents two opposing but related views of the world: Dmitri’s singing expressing loyalty to the Czar and another song of his about Stenka Razin’s fight against the ruler show a dramatic reverse from deep fidelity

⁴⁸⁹Deleuze, *Cinema I*, 33.

⁴⁹⁰Ibid., 35.

⁴⁹¹Ibid., 37.

⁴⁹²Bordwell and Thompson, *Film Art*, 308.

to the Czar to the denial of the Czar's rights to rule. The two songs represent qualitative difference in opposition, and the first singing image is diametrically opposed to the second one: the preservation of the Czarist system and popular political consciousness of resistance to it are expressed by the types of music Dmitri, the same vocalist, performs.

At the same time, however, this traveling and singing scene also represents the images of flowing water and waves in the sea. The fluid images are directly associated with Deleuze's concept of liquid perception, which invites viewers to see them through the lens of the camera itself, going beyond the questions of two poles of subjective-objective images in cinema and perception. Things seen from a person's point of view are subjective perception-images, whereas things seen from another person's point of view which is external to the person are objective-perception-images. However, the camera work itself constitutes "a pure Form which sets itself up as the autonomous vision of the content,"⁴⁹³ which is the perception-image. "Liquid perception" springs from the very possibility of traversing the two poles of subjective-objective perceptions that fluid water images and the movement of the camera provides.⁴⁹⁴ In the scene of Sumida on board the ship, the image of running water is captured in long shot from Sumida's point of view, whose presence is shown and then is removed from the frame. Sumida looks down with his back against the railing of the ship sailing on the sea, and then his presence becomes absent. Next, the image of undulating water waves is presented through the railing, so that water looks like it is flowing by traversing a barrier or a frame. That is, the fluid image of water is presented from the other side of the railing of the ship, thereby illustrating "the simultaneity of the movement of the one who sees and the movement seen."⁴⁹⁵ On the

⁴⁹³Ibid., 74.

⁴⁹⁴Ibid., 76-79.

⁴⁹⁵Ibid., 77.

level of diegesis, the image of water naturally matches the aquatic image of the song of “Stenka Razin.” However, the presentation of the flowing images from another viewpoint of the character means that the camera gives viewers another vision, which is also part of the cinematic content. In this, the images are “in the process of becoming liquid, which pass through or under the frame,” and become the liquid, flowing perception, irrespective of the character’s viewpoints.⁴⁹⁶ It is an important perspective that calls upon viewers to concentrate on the flowing images themselves and discover another vision of the content that cinematography brings to them, thereby transcending the narrow scope of state propaganda.

Along with liquid perception, the space of Persia in the song of “Stenka Razin” foregrounds Maria’s singing as an important imaginary cinematic site in which the boundaries of gender and humans and animals are (de)marked, which I will elaborate more on in a later part of this chapter. Interestingly enough, according to the song, at the feast celebrating Razin’s successful raids and acquiring of the princess on board his ship, he turns himself into a woman, suggesting the fluidity and permeability of the boundary of gender. Relying on the discussion of movement in cinema, the following section will first focus on the use of sounds other than music and the human singing voice and their meanings in cinematography and then discuss the significance of vocality with regard to gender and movement as an “affection image” in Deleuze’s term.⁴⁹⁷

⁴⁹⁶Ibid., 80.

⁴⁹⁷Simply put, “the close-up [refers to] an affection image.” Deleuze, *Cinema I*, 70. I will address this concept further in the body of this chapter later.

Audio-Visual Sounds⁴⁹⁸ as Effects, the Malleability of Cinematic Time and Space, and Spectatorship

The credits sequence and the sequence of Sumida's travel with Razmovski to Harbin show how visual images juxtapose with rhythmic effects, sounds of objects, and the human singing voice and thus create wide ranges of visual and sonic effects.⁴⁹⁹ They are intimately linked to the audience's perception of time and space in the images themselves. In the workings of image and sound, they create "added value," in Chion's term, referring to "the expressive and informative value with which as sound enriches a given image so as to create the definite impression,"⁵⁰⁰ for the film narrative as well. The quivering leaves, looking like fluttering shadows on the white background of the scene, are superimposed on the cast information. They linger on the screen, creating a "visual microrhythm," in Chion's term, referring to a temporality of movement created in the image's surface itself such as smoke, rain, snowflakes, water waves on the surface, etc.⁵⁰¹ Along with the men's choir in the introduction to the film, the audience's attention is naturally directed to this visual microrhythm that generates an effect similar to vibrating sonic undulations. The first opening establishing shot displays a steamboat sailing on the Sungari River in an extreme long shot, an overview of the film's locale in the city of Harbin. The ship makes headway with the emission of sounds from the steam engine. Probably, a very gentle breeze ruffles the river, so that its tranquil surface glitters with a myriad of small, cross-shaped waves. This is another "visual microrhythm" and it gives viewers a sense of a horizontal movement and creates dimensionality in the image.⁵⁰² Razmovski then starts to sing, and his singing voice in a low tone delicately overlaps with the sound of

⁴⁹⁸This term is coined, based on Chion's term "visual microrhythm" which I will explain in the body. Since Deleuze also uses the term audio-visual images, so I will stay with this term in this section.

⁴⁹⁹Chion points out that [a]udio visual analysis does not involve clear entities or essences like the shot, but only "effects," something considerable less noble." Chion, *Audio-Vision*, 186.

⁵⁰⁰*Ibid.*, 5.

⁵⁰¹*Ibid.*, 16.

⁵⁰²*Ibid.*, 176.

the engine of the steamboat, which produces a regular rhythm, sounding like a beat. As his singing continues, the engine sound decreases gradually, so that the singing voice is well articulated and clearly audible. Moreover, the engine's consistent sound adds a regular rhythmic beat to his plaintive singing voice which alternates a low-tuned pitch with a deep yet subtle timbre, thereby accentuating both regularity and the changes of rhythms and tones in a moving object and a human voice

Sumida and other major characters' seeking a shelter in four-wheeled wagons marks the Chinese's subordinate status by means of transportation and the particular sound patterns of those means of transportation. The Chinese run away on foot on the road like rabble, shouting "*kuai pao ya!*" (Run fast!). However, Sumida and the Russians ride either on horseback or in a wagon and move much faster than the Chinese do, thereby suggesting their privileged social status. As they run at a full gallop, the sound of exploding cannon shells from faraway reverberates louder than the sound of the horses galloping, signified with a beat without showing the source or the cause of the sound. In fact, this segues into a street scene showing the Chinese running away, which had been presented as one of the establishing shots shortly before. In this respect, the status of noises shifts from "punctual noises" which are from isolated events to "lasting noise" "which extend through the whole of a sequence."⁵⁰³ A crump sound is coupled with the galloping and bell sounds, all of which are "elements of auditory setting," referring to "sounds with a more or less punctual source, which appear more or less intermittently and which help to create and define a film's space by means of specific, distinct small touches."⁵⁰⁴ According to Chion, the audience is placed in a state of expectation or anticipation with this type of intermittent sound or music coming in and out on the screen.⁵⁰⁵ The next scene of a

⁵⁰³Ibid., 205.

⁵⁰⁴Ibid., 54-55.

⁵⁰⁵Ibid., 55-56.

flock of crows cawing and flying away serves as an ominous sign of things that immediately befall them, such as Sumida's leg injury and separation.⁵⁰⁶ In this scene, a series of sporadic gun shots follows, which makes viewers more curious about the next sequence. It also enables Sumida to stop running—a sudden end of the acceleration of speed and the proceeding movement—and then shout at the others, “Stop!” On their way, Sumida stops again and turns back around to urge them to go faster, but he himself gets injured by a bullet, and thus he and Razmovski stay behind. Thus, the narrative is developed to meet the audience's expectations, serving as a convergence of expectation.⁵⁰⁷ Other people and the horses fade out on a vast plain where gun shots ring out.

Chion observes the significant use of the punch sound as accented synch points in martial arts and fighting films, noting that it can keep audio and visual continuity tight and creates “temporal elasticity” like a chord in music that involves the vertical dimension.⁵⁰⁸ This escaping sequence contains different pitch levels and scales in volume from low to high: the sounds of galloping and horse bell ringing, shells, bird singing, and gun shots. These sounds are heard consecutively and simultaneously at certain intervals in a specific order. The movement of galloping is accelerated by the sound of shells, thereby adding temporal elasticity to the flow of movement and the narrative and an effect of contracting time on an audio-visual level. In particular, these are the explosions of shells, Sumida's turning while his horse is running, and birds' flying at certain intervals at the critical moment when they seek a shelter. The sounds of shells are first heard from outside the parlor twice before their departure. Sumida

⁵⁰⁶Deleuze also compares movement in film as interval and whole to a bird's movement. “Time as whole, the set of movement in the universe, is the bird which hovers, continually increasing its circle. But the numerical unit of movement is the beating of a wing, the continually diminishing interval between two movements or two actions.” Deleuze, *Cinema I*, 32. In the film, images of birds are very important in the development of the narrative as is Dmitri's identification of Maria with a nightingale, which I will examine in the body of this chapter.

⁵⁰⁷Chion, *Audio-Vision*, 55-56.

⁵⁰⁸Ibid., 61-62.

tells his Russian friends about the cause of the sound of cannon shells, saying that “It’s a battle between warlords.” The second sound of shells is when one of his Chinese male servants reports the current geopolitical situation in which “Chou’s army seems to be surrounding the city at a distance.” The third and final sound of the shells is in the sequence of horse riding on the broad plain and it maximizes the exigency of escaping from the war and is coupled with the acceleration of the speed of the wagons. Compared to the high and quickly passing sounds of gun shots that sound as if they come from nearby, the sound of exploding shells is heard as if it comes from a remote area, so that audience’s perception of the space can be dilated maximally, or, in Chion’s term, a “vast extension” of where the audience can expect to hear a variety of sounds, sounds which emanate from on and off screen.⁵⁰⁹ In short, the sounds of the gunshots and the shells involve two different temporal and spatial dimensions while they both bring forth the characters’ actions and the movement of the objects in an overall mode of fast forward; the former contracts time and the latter creates an extended image of a cinematic space that adds their perspective to the images of the vastness of the plain along with the periodic movement of the sound, so that viewers can expand psychological perception of the space on the screen.⁵¹⁰

Singing beyond Signification: Vocality, Mythical Imagination, and “Affection Images”

Maria is first exposed to music by Sumida, her biological father, when Dmitri sings the song dedicated to the Czar in the parlor, where her birthmother communicates with her through body language, and then she learns how to sing from Dmitri, her adopted father. Maria’s growth significantly exemplifies the ways in which communication between mother and child takes place in the pre-vocal phase before

⁵⁰⁹Chion, *Audio-Vision*, 87.

⁵¹⁰*Ibid.*, 70.

language. At first glance, her two fathers are the subjects who introduce the world of music to Maria. Just as Maria is exposed to it by her biological father for the first time, so must her musical skill be taught and developed by her adoptive father. However, rather than merely representing a female's subordinate status in the acquisition of high culture, these examples reveal how vocality and singing become an interlocking site where the ideas of gender and language are conceived and formulated along with them. In addition, by nature, they equally involve the spectators' auditory mode and reception of visual images from the screen, and the problem of matching the two can also affect their response to sound technique in cinema. Centering on gender, I will address the meanings of the non-verbal communication between mother and child as well as vocality in relation to language, and then move on to Ueno's vocal practice and Maria's singing.

Maria's first vocal utterance, something between crying and babbling, occurs right before she is exposed to vocal music, Dmitri's singing, as her mother hands her to her father. She cries because she is forced to leave her mother's secure, nestling arms. This scene is particularly indicative of Kristeva's formulation of the semiotic and the symbolic in language and the Lacanian idea of the child's relationship with the mother and the father in forming subjectivity in association with language. The semiotic is related to a child's pre-Oedipal stage in which the child enters the symbolic language system of the Father and its order and is connected to the mother's body. During this course, the child's primary communication is based on "gestures, rhythms, and nonrepresentational sounds," and "[t]he sounds of the maternal voice, in particular, are privileged sites of pleasure and identification."⁵¹¹ However, their semiotic bond is destroyed as the child enters the language system and the law of the

⁵¹¹Leslie C. Dunn, "Ophelia's Songs in Hamlet," in *Embodied Voices: Representing Female Vocality in Western Culture*, eds. Leslie C. Dunn and Nancy A. Jones (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 54.

Father, a transition from identification with the mother to the father, from the maternal semiotic to the paternal symbolic. Dunne notes: “According to Kristeva, however, the [maternal] semiotic survives in language as a ‘*heterogeneousness* to meaning and signification’ which ‘produces ‘musical’ but also nonsense effects.’ Since such effects are ultimately related to the primal ‘music’ of the mother’s voice, they represent the return of a repressed maternal realm of linguistic pleasure, a subversive semiotic potential within the symbolic order.”⁵¹² Dunn opines that Kristeva’s metaphorical formulation of music is also conventional in the sense that “music” “refers to the rhythms and the sonorities of language” and is used to situate music in opposition to language’ present in the Western intellectual proclivity that two binary sets of discourses are mapped out: “*melos* vs *logos*; sound vs sense; ‘music’ vs ‘meaning.’ ” This way of using “music” demonstrates that the metaphor itself is grounded in an underlying logic of patriarchal thinking and links it with irrational, mad aspects in the feminine.⁵¹³ Maria’s mother pats the back of Maria as she gives her to Sumida and smiles at her after they enter into the lounge. At this point, she explains to the father the reason for her crying, which in fact is her own speculation. This scene significantly suggests how mother and child form a primordial bond through body language and non-verbal sounds, as discussed by Kristeva above. This bond is temporarily disconnected as Maria enters into the actual world of music, which is represented by the two fathers. However, the film shows another scene in which Maria is taken care of by a Russian *au pair*, whose voice is inaudible though her lines appear subtitled on the screen in Japanese. Of course, the Russian *au pair* stands in for her dead mother, but more importantly, their interaction demonstrates how a female voice can be heard

⁵¹²Dunn, “Ophelia’s Songs in *Hamlet*,” 54. Quoted from Julia Kristeva, *Desire in Language: A Semiotic Approach to Literature and Art*, trans. Thomas Gora, et al., (New York: Columbia University Press, 1980), 133 and Julia Kristeva, *Revolution in Poetic Language*, trans. Margaret Waller, ed. Leon S. Roudiez (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984), 63.

⁵¹³Dunn, “Ophelia’s Songs in *Hamlet*,” 54-55.

by spectators imaginatively and creatively without a single, definite source for the identification of audio-visual images.

When Dmitri travels to Tianjin by train for his vocal performance, a Russian woman holds Maria in her arms in place of her birth mother while patting her body, which is covered with a blanket. She holds Maria in her arms and waves them while looking at her face, and the Japanese subtitle, “*yoshi yoshi* Mariko,” meaning “hush, hush, Maria,” is shown. It is worth noting that the Russian woman does not quite move her lips. If viewers look at her very carefully, there seems to be a very slight lip movement, but it is too quick to catch. In fact, viewers cannot hear her voice in Russian at all. It is conceivable that Maria gets fretful or cries for particular needs and thus she tries to calm her down. But her crying is also inaudible because of the sound of the train. This imperceptible crying sound seems to stem from a technical glitch, failing to match the characters’ speaking and crying voices with the Japanese subtitles. Technically, this scene clearly shows the audience that the source of the sound is on-screen, a synchronous sound. However, it is presented as an asynchronous sound, coming from offscreen, like a dubbing or lip synchronization but without any actual sound and its source that should be heard by viewers. From the standpoint of the development of cinema technique, the failure to provide the baby’s crying and to match the woman’s voices with the Japanese subtitles mean the film’s lack of “fidelity of the sound,” thereby producing a gap between image on screen and viewers’ expectation of the sound.⁵¹⁴ According to David Bordwell and Kristin Thompson, the unfaithfulness of the source of the sound is usually employed for comic effect. Asynchronous sound, resulting from “an error in projection or lab work”⁵¹⁵ also provokes humor for viewers, so that they can be aware of the technical mechanism in

⁵¹⁴Bordwell and Thompson, *Film Art*, 365.

⁵¹⁵Bordwell and Thompson, *Ibid.*, 371.

which sound and image are synchronized and their simultaneous, audiovisual presentations are the result of technical management of filmmaking means.⁵¹⁶

Rather than providing a humorous moment, however, this disparity yields an audiovisual and imaginary space for spectators to listen to a voice on the screen, seeping in from somewhere, an outer source or into their minds through the very image of the shot. I would like to elaborate more on the significance of this mismatch from the viewpoint of the characters as well as the spectators. Chion comes up with the term “a voice in exile,” referring to “awaiting delivery of a body, with a body on back order.”⁵¹⁷ He picks a scene from the end of the film *Psycho*, showing other characters’ voices coming from Marion, the mother’s head, and explains how voices are bifurcated and directed for the character and spectators. He notes: [t]he internal voices that fascinate Marion resonate in her head, whereas the embracing voice that speaks over the image of Norman resonates in us. It’s a voice in exile,”⁵¹⁸ He calls this “an effect of corporeal implication, or involvement of the spectator’s body, when the voice makes us feel in our body the vibration of the body of the other, of the character who serves as a vehicle for the identification. The extreme case of corporeal implication occurs when there is no dialogue or words, but only closely present breathing, groans or sighs.”⁵¹⁹ He thinks this creates an ambiguous space for the identification of the sources of sounds, and that voice and sound can control an image. A pre-vocal expression, a voice that does not yet articulate words, only sounds, is another example of a corporeal implication.⁵²⁰

On one level, the simultaneous presentation of the Russian woman’s lips with or without their slight motion and the subtitles naturally leads the audience to

⁵¹⁶Bordwell and Thompson, *Ibid.*, 372.

⁵¹⁷Michel Chion, *The Voice in Cinema*, trans. Claudia Gorbman (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), 52.

⁵¹⁸Chion, *The Voice in Cinema*, 52.

⁵¹⁹*Ibid.*, 52-53.

⁵²⁰*Ibid.*, 53.

transform the latter into the character's words as if she spoke to them, yielding an effect of turning the subtitles into an internal, diegetic sound. In other words, the subtitles function as a subjective- internal voice, like words she utters in her mind.⁵²¹ Ironically, in terms of cinema sound technique, the flaw of the technical arrangement of sound effects or the underdevelopment of synchronization technique during its production makes far more complex dimensions of sounds possible at the level of the actual effect of sounds on the spectators in film industry of the time. The Russian woman's unuttered voice is "exile" and can be imagined in her mind with her activity of patting the baby or in the audience's mind who see her dialogue from the screen. In this case, the image and the subtitles presented to spectators delay their direct identification of the two, thereby turning the source of voice/sound, external diegetic sound, into an internal, non-diegetic sound that can only be imagined and heard in the character and viewers' minds. Thus, the boundaries of two distinctions can be blurred and traversed in the spectators' viewing process. The possible interplay of the two sound sources at the levels of acting and reception renders the world of diegesis to be an imaginary and sensual space filled by the viewers' minds working and their sensibility, the extent to which the layout of sound sources enables them to watch the scene from diverse directions. In Chion's terms, this scene can create "an effect of corporeal implication" for viewers without hearing the source of actual sounds.⁵²² Thus, they can imagine the baby crying, babbling, or breathing, or all three of them, and even any other possible sounds she can make without dialogue as well as a mixture of the woman's lulling words and the baby's pre-verbal expression. In this case, the workings of gender in association with language are more than an analogy to the two binary sets of discourse on the maternal and the paternal. The image further

⁵²¹Chion states that internal voice is "sound, which, although situated in the present action, corresponds to the physical and mental interior of a character. These include physiological sounds of breathing moans or heartbeats, all of which could be named *objective-internal* sounds." Chion, *Audio-Vision*, 76.

⁵²² Chion, *The Voice in Cinema*, 53.

produces a more complicated cinematic space, not the source of sound for identification, but the source to be creatively imagined and captured by the audience's imaginations, which are not limited to the visual image automatically presented for them.

In addition to professional vocalists singing in performances inserted in the film, the film presents Dmitri and Ueno's singing practice without lyrics in opposition to Maria's singing with them. On the one hand, Maria's singing practice with Dmitri apparently asserts her complete reliance on the father in learning the language of Father through singing. However, on the other hand, it fundamentally entails different ways of using one's voice through speaking and singing, and this is a good example of how vocalization and vocality are ultimately connected to language and the materiality of language, as discussed by Leslie C. Dunn.⁵²³ In the film, Ueno stands up and opens his arms wide and starts singing with "Ah" sounds and different ranges of pitches from the middle and the low to the highest one, a maximization of his voice. By contrast, Dmitri sings to his piano accompaniment, ostensibly playing in order for Maria to practice singing. At the level of diegesis, this *mise-en-scène* outwardly reveals his role as a musical instructor for his daughter as well as his professionalism. Seeing this scene from the perspective of vocalization and its meaning in music, Dmitri's singing to his own piano accompaniment, i.e., *solfège*, presents a fuller and richer contour of a melodic line that covers a full chromatic scale of pitches from rising and peaking, to falling. His magnificent singing voice and the dramatic changes in the contour of the melodic line are in tune with a fairly fast and lively tempo of the piano. The quick transition of his pitches from an increased ascending to descending, a sign of his mastery over full, wide ranges of vocal tonality, is highlighted by the piano's fast beat. The rise and fall of the pitches accented by the piano in the process

⁵²³Dunn, "Ophelia's Songs in *Hamlet*," 52-53.

of vocalization suggest how the voice is pronounced, projected, and intensified along with the movement of the body of the singer, as well as an important implication of the singing voice in vocal performance concerning a semantic aspect of meaning, i.e., signification, for the interpretation of music.

Dunn notes that unlike speech, singing involves more body movement due to the very process of vocalization through a series of movements of the body such as a wider mouth, a deeper breath, and the use of deeper diaphragm muscles, etc. Since vocalization carries more intense body work, this more heightened materiality of language yields the indeterminacy of meaning. Roland Barthes' essay, "The Grain of the Voice," particularly probes the dialectic relationship between signification and materiality in language and singing. He uses a specific term, "grain," referring to the voice pronounced and produced in vocal music, in order to situate the singing voice and its meaning in conjunction with language, a system of signs composed of *signifiant*, signifier and *signifié*, signified. "[W]hen the latter [the grain, the grain of the voice] is in a dual posture, a dual production — of language and of music, then "[t]he 'grain' is the body in the voice as it sings"⁵²⁴ Barthes notes: [the "grain"] forms a signifying play having nothing to do with communication, representation (of feelings), expression; it is that apex (or depth) of production where the melody really works at the language— not at what it says, but the voluptuousness of its sounds-signifiers, of its letters—where melody explores how the language works and identifies with that work."⁵²⁵ The materiality of the singing body carries "the voluptuousness of its sound-signifiers, *significance*, which makes the singing voice to be unbounded by semantic restraints. The listener also builds a relation with the

⁵²⁴Dunn, "Ophelia's Songs in *Hamlet*," 53, quoted from Roland Barthes, *Image, Music, Text*, trans. Stephen Heath (New York: Hill & Wang, 1977), 188, 181.

⁵²⁵Dunn, "Ophelia's Songs in *Hamlet*," 53, quoted from Roland Barthes, *Image, Music, Text*, trans. Stephen Heath (New York: Hill & Wang, 1977), 188.

vocalists' body through the identification with music.⁵²⁶ In light of Dunn and Barthes' discussion of the materiality of the voice in singing, the film does not so much illustrate simple gender and race relations, such as the White Russian father's teaching Western classical music to an adopted Asian daughter, or the fathers' engagement in culture and the mother's engagement in pre-verbal education, etc., so it essentially touches upon the very interlocking yet liberating sites where signification becomes obscure and is even subverted by *significance*.

Maria's singing is directly compared to a golden bird or nightingale in the two songs she practices and performs. More importantly, a nightingale, as in the title of the film, has a particular connotation in Persian literature and Greek mythology, and the images of birds, singing, and flowers are the recurring leitmotifs in the film. Maria sings a song, "The Small Bird of Persia," once when Mrs. Mirskaya, the soprano from the Russian Imperial Theater, visits Dmitri's house. He asks Maria to sing this song to her, since it is Maria's specialty. The title itself certainly conveys a sense of the spatial characteristic attached to the word. Moreover, "My Nightingale," the theme song of the film, is sung twice, in her solo performance at the charity concert held in the shell-shaped, modern, outdoor stage as well as in front of Dmitri's gravestone at the end of the film. Since Persia is presented as an important historical or imaginary space in the two songs, I will address symbolic meanings of birds, particularly the nightingale, and flower in Persian cultural contexts as well as Greek mythology and then examine the meanings of Maria's singing in relation to Deleuze's notion of affection image.

The Small Bird of Persia:

Flowers yellower than honey are springing up.
Springing slowly, all among the grass.
Making wings shine.
The sound of flapping through the great . . .

⁵²⁶Dunn 53, Barthes 188.

Little golden bird.
Burning, fly-flying, bloom, I love you better than all else.

According to Layla S. Diba, the theme of the rose and the nightingale was widely expressed in both painting and poetry writing even before the Qajar period (1779-1924), and the two subjects were at their zenith of cultural production during this dynasty in Persia. Early Persian poets used the two as a “metaphor for spiritual and earthly love in their epic, lyric and mystical works.”⁵²⁷ The nightingale’s melodious song was figured poetically as his courtship of the female part, the rose. The gender of the nightingale was conceived of as male, stemming from a popular belief that the nightingale species has no females. A painting, *Mirror-Case* by Ali Ashraf (active 1730s-1780s), particularly shows two nightingales’ singing in the middle of wild roses and other flowers accompanied by butterflies. Diba notes in detail:

The abundance of flowers recalls the richness of the flora of earthly gardens, where the nightingale is the harbinger of spring as he perches on the rose stems. Yet it may be permissible in works such as these, particularly examples with accompanying verses or portraits of Sufis and mystical poets, to see a reference to mystical themes, such as man’s eternal search for union with God [god] symbolized in the image of the soul-bird’s (nightingale’s) love of the rose (perfection and the godhead).⁵²⁸

In this way, the term the “rose and the nightingale” even came to be synonymous with the land of Persia and its culture.”⁵²⁹

In the film, it is not easy to tell the types of flowers because the film is in black and white. However, flowers and floral images, the cross and images of the Russian Orthodox Cathedrals, and images of Maria are closely interconnected, playing important parts in developing and thematizing filmic narratives. When Razmovski and

⁵²⁷Layla S. Diba, “The Rose and the Nightingale in Persian Art,” *Arts of Asia* (November 1996): 20, 100.

⁵²⁸Ibid., 107.

⁵²⁹Ibid., 100-110, 107, and 112.

Sumida arrive in Harbin, three establishing shots of the Cathedrals of St. Nicholas and Iverskaya, as well as trees that are in full blossom with bees, are shown one after another. Sumida sits on a chair on a porch in the room of a hospital where a vase with flowers on a coffee table is placed, and his face and upper body are shown together with flowers. Another shot of trees in full blossom follows. At the level of diegesis, this scene foregrounds Maria's close relationship with flowers, serving as a cinematic metaphor for her own beauty and that of the city, as well as the brightness of the future.

Maria's association with flowers, crosses, and singing is consistently displayed at the end of the film. When Maria sees Dmitri's performance of *The Queen of Spades*, Tchaikovsky's opera, at a theater for the first time, she wears a dress with flower patterns and puts an imitation flower on the right side of her braided hair. Her costume and hair styles remain the same even at the charity concert. In *Faust*, Dmitri's final performance, Maria plays the role of a village girl wearing a veil with flowers. After Dmitri sinks down onto the floor of the stage, he is immediately taken to a costume room and laid on a couch adjacent to a coffee table with a vase full of flowers. When he expresses his last will, her weeping face and flowers are shown in close-up. In this final scene, a re-establishing shot of the Cathedral of Iverskaya and flowers, together with other crosses of tombs at the cemetery, are presented while Maria sings "My Nightingale." In a historical context, Maria's selling of flowers on the street stands for one of the typical jobs for Russian émigrés at that time, like selling milk, which is predominantly portrayed in the Chinese literature of Manchukuo. However, rather than merely representing the historical background of Russian migration and remaining cinematically faithful to time, this choice of occupation further serves to highlight intimate relations between birds and flowers and their symbolic meaning in the development of narrative.

In the scene where Maria sells her flowers at Ueno's place, the cross, a sketch of a woman's body, and Maria, symbolizing the nightingale, are juxtaposed. When she mentions her father's profession, Ueno imitates a vocalist's singing exercise in preparation for an actual performance as a way of expressing his interest in her.⁵³⁰ At this point, the camera catches Maria's face only and presents it in an extreme close-up shot and a good example of "affection image," which I will address later. Reading this scene in the Persian cultural context, his singing can be seen as a nightingale's wooing and search for union with God's love or a love object, as cited above. The meaning of Ueno's vocal practice is parallel to the cultural connotations of a nightingale's singing. Thus, the very cinematic image of the nightingale attached to Maria, a beautiful female singer, is not strictly gender bound, thereby diversifying gender codes of cultural activities across time, space, and culture.

As the narrative develops further, Maria is identified figuratively as a nightingale by singing "My Nightingale," which is the song Dmitri recommends she sing in a charity concert.

A night of deep fog/ Light snow piling up at midnight/ Then I remember, and I sing/ Oh, my beloved nightingale/ I see you every night in my dreams/ Listen, that's the sound of rainfall/ Listen, that's the sound of the wind/ The dark winter is passing, and/ Flowering spring comes.

The sounds and the change of nature are identified and delivered by the "I" singing to the nightingale, the object of the singer's love. In the context of the film narrative, "my nightingale" is Dmitri's reference to Maria. Maria embodies the modernized Japanese/East Asian vision and promotes state propaganda in the sense that the season

⁵³⁰Heather Laing points out that melodrama and women's films of the 1940s in the West were produced on the basis of a typified assumption about gender nature and gender roles, that is, female's excessive emotionality with feminine style music versus male's control over their feelings as a sign of the power of masculinity, which in fact suggests his vulnerability. In this presupposition of gender nature, non-diegetic music is used to attest to men's strength of control over emotion, and its veracity and depth. Heather Laing, *The Gendered Score: Musician 1940s Melodrama and the Woman's Film* (Hampshire, England: Ashgate, 2007), 173-174.

of spring and flowers blooming are the signs of overcoming the dark past of the rootless, wretched Russian émigré.⁵³¹ At the same time, for Dmitri, singing is his *raison d'être* that can refresh his juvenescence and it is thus defined as a source of his creative energy and felicity for maintaining art and life. However, in the song, the changes in nature and climate are figuratively captured by the singing "I." Also, the existence of a nightingale carries and evokes another subject, one which sings at night, by virtue of its name and its very activity.

Charles Segal's study, "The Gorgon and the Nightingale: the Voice of Female Lament and Pindar's Twelfth *Pythian Ode*," examines socially imaged female voices and vocality and their significance in the Greek myths. *Pythian Ode* recounts an event showing Athena's transformation of the Gorgon's mournful yet horrific wail at her sister Medusa's death into the culturally acceptable flute song in the Greek polis. The early image of the Gorgon represented in Hesiod's *Theogony* is also associated with her animalistic traits, marked by snaky hair, terrifying cry, and bloody birth, all of which manifest the incarnation of the impurity ascribed to the female body and demonic nature of femaleness as an exact antithesis to the clean and bloodless birth of the male counterparts. Gorgon's lament and mourning of her dead sister has to be changed into the flute-song by Athena. Athena's transforming the wail into an artistic work suggests that women's dreadful and unclean act of parturition is also her area of control. Their cry of pain should be expressed artistically and artificially in the form of song and pleasant melody, like those that are produced in the male arena of art and athletics. At the same time, however, the flute song also signifies that the alterity of

⁵³¹In the Japanese cultural context, the nightingale also stands for the coming of spring and has many other nicknames associated with the word spring and flower such as *harudori* (spring bird) and *harutsugedori* (a bird signaling the coming of spring) *hanamidori* (a flower bird, literally meaning "a flower sees a bird"), and so forth. It is known as a male bird singing "hoohokekyo." <http://ja.wikipedia.org/wiki/%E3%82%A6%E3%82%B0%E3%82%A4%E3%82%B9%E9.9F.B3.E6.A5.BD> (accessed April 16, 2009). Seeing from this perspective, the bird's singing was conceived of as male even in Japan, as it was in the Persian cultural context.

the female's maternal and creative energy is included in the city, thereby producing more ambiguous and vacillating relations between the two worlds: nature and culture, and the untamed and the polis. Segal further notes:

A cry that “dip,” like blood, becomes the melodious vibration inside the reeds and metal of the flute (line 25). The instrumental sound from the “slender” or “agile” bronze (*leptou chalkou*) replaces the “thrilling” song of mourning from “swift or “trembling” jaws (line 20). The Gorgon's “swift-moving jaws (line 20), with their ambiguous evocation of both monstrous devouring and pathetic trembling, can refer to the helpless trilling or quivering of the female voice in lament and of the female body in the extreme of suffering. Elsewhere in early Greek literature, such a sound describes the lamenting cry of the nightingale, a traditional voice of female grieving, especially maternal grieving. Procne, mourning her dead son, is transformed into this bird and forever cries his name, “Itys, Itys,” in perpetual sorrow. Both myths emphasize the physical quality of the female voice, the ambiguous maternity of the singer, and her removal from the human and to subhuman world.⁵³²

In Greek mythology, the Sirens' song also depicts bird-women figures with musical power. Barbara Engh reads this in conjunction with Adorno's discussion of music and the technology of reproduction and points out:

What is at issue in the Sirens' song is not immediately a question of gender. More significant is the extent to which Sirens are not even human — depicted as half bird, half woman. The curves of the needle, which seemed to lead to the figure of woman, instead have led us to the question of music before gender. The voice as posed in Adorno's texts, is not an inherently human problematic. Rather the voice is the site at which, in the distinction between the cry and the song, the human and the inhuman are differentiated in a perennial irresolution.⁵³³

⁵³²Charles Segal, “The Gorgon and the Nightingale: the Voice of Female Lament and Pindar's Twelfth *Pythian Ode*” in Dunn and Jones, *Embodied Voices*, 32-34.

⁵³³Barbara Engh, “Adorno and the Siren: tele-phone-graphic bodies,” in Dunn and Jones, *Embodied Voices*, 134.

The film also presents a tension in terms of authenticity between a voice heard from actual performance as authentic and a sound reproduced for mass consumption. When Razmovski walks on the street, he is suddenly mesmerized by an opera song coming somewhere nearby and starts to walk swiftly along the street to trace the origin of its sound. Upon arriving at an unknown person's house, he enters into a living room and then discovers that it is not a human's actual singing but a reproduced voice from a phonograph. Extremely disappointed by this recorded voice, he gets annoyed and pulls out the plug. However, I do not intend to dwell more on this issue here.

The two articles illuminate how the images of singing women are figured, oscillating between the two different realms where the boundaries of music, nature, culture, and gender are demarcated and become ambiguous all at once. Deleuze also points out that Pasolini's cinema is also inspired by the mythical, and the two opposing worlds, the secular versus the noble, melt into myth in the free-indirect form in subject-object matter.⁵³⁴ Maria's song, "My Nightingale," presents three different realms of singing and singing voices. Maria's actual singing in her voice, the nightingale's singing in the lyrics of the song, and the sounds of nature, conceived of as singing, are all metaphorically figured across the boundaries between human and animal, and nature and culture, and slide into each realm readily and indefinitely. It is the female voice that relates one realm to another through vocality and musical power. In these realms, the very possibility to traverse boundaries between a sense of opposition and of correlation holds decisive moments back, so that meanings are in a constant state of flux. The very status of subject and object, signification and indication, and even of gender boundaries, as shown in the song "Stenka Razin," are permeable. According to Royal Brown, "the use of music in relation to a narrative [in film] is not usually specific, or specifically meaningful, but rather mythical."⁵³⁵ In this respect, "My Nightingale" is not merely a metaphor for a female singer with a beautiful voice as defined by Dmitri, but rather, represents the potential for the female voice to create a mythical, imaginary, and cinematic space of possibilities unlimited by the historical and chronological flow of time.⁵³⁶

⁵³⁴Deleuze, *Cinema I*, 75-76.

⁵³⁵Dean Duncan, *Charms that Soothe: Classical Music and the Narrative Film* (New York: Fordham University, 2003), 137.

⁵³⁶It is evident that the film also quotes the two songs from *Faust*, a drinking song, *Vin ou Bière*, and, *Le veau d'or* (The Song of the Golden Calf). In the opera, before Valentin leaves for war, he has a banquet with students, villagers, and soldiers, drinking alcohol, which represents the world of Dionysus. The drinking song also explicitly praises the young pursuit of love, whereas the romance between Maria and Ueno is expressed in a very subdued manner in the film. The film also shows Lisa's aria, "I am worn out by grief," from Act 3 of *The Queen of Spades* by Tchaikovsky, which also represents the world of emotion. I quote the drinking song here, but I do not intend to analyze all the songs at the same level of

Along with the female potential of vocality for the immense expansion of time and space unbounded by signification, the camera work closely interweaves the mobile images of the singing body and face in the form of “affection image.” Maria’s singing scenes, set either on the stages or in the living room, are presented with medium close-up or close-up shots, especially when she moves into a crescendo, the climax of the songs, without instrumental accompaniment, a purely vocal space for the character and audiences. Maria’s face is even highlighted when she is with other vocalists on stage or watches the opera performance as an audience member with other characters off stage. Moreover, the technique of close-up shot is used ostensibly to underpin the Japanese side of Maria’s identity as the dying Dmitri asks her to return to Japan, the biological father’s great home country. The camera captures her face in an extreme close-up shot and her facial image on the verge of tears parallels with the caption “*Nihonge*” ([return] to Japan), in Japanese at the same time. This image visibly identifies Maria with Japan, implying the restoration of her Japanese origin, a definite reflection affirming the state’s filmic propaganda. However, in another scene, Maria’s face is shown in an extreme close-up in Ueno’s living room when he asks about her father’s occupation. Her lightly smiling face fully covers the whole screen and it is framed alone without any other images. When Ueno tries to check whether or not Dmitri is her biological father, her perplexed face is again shown in a close-up shot. On the level of diegesis, these two distinctively contrasting images manifest a dramatic shift in expression of her feelings from excitement to bewilderment, arising

signification in this chapter. “Wine or beer, Beer or wine, as long as my glass is full without shame! One after the other, a drunkard drinks everything! Young addicts of the cask make exception of nothing but water, May your glory and your love be there to drink always.” Lyrics taken from Charles Gounod, *Faust* (Milano: Hardy Classic Video, 2000). I have looked at other music scores but this version sounds better, so I have quoted it here. Laing argues that “the very fact that it is non-diegetic music that realizes their [female characters] potential for such transcendent emotion [over the social constraints and gender codes imposed upon women] highlights its very inexpressibility in the diegetic world.” Laing, *The Gendered Score*, 24. In the case of *My Nightingale*, Laing’s observation is also relevant, given the characters’ subdued expression of their emotion. However, my reading of the film is not exclusively bounded by gender perspectives but aims to capture the flexible nature of the boundaries.

from her current admiration of Dmitri's masterful musicality and the facts of her birth unknown to her. However, the close-up shot, is the best example of the "affection image," and this framework would provide a new perspective for the interpretation of the film, deviating from its outright propaganda message of Japan's preeminence and the constraints of historical specificity in time and space in cinema.

Deleuze defines the close-up as the affection image. On one level, the affect is composed of facial motoricity that involves both the mobile and immobile aspects of micromovements; a part of a single facial movement taking place on an immobile, sensitive entity of nerve endings is transformed into a series of the intensive micromovements of expression. The simultaneous succession of the intensive, expressive micromovements on the face accompanies a shift in its quality, giving a "qualitative leap" to the dramatic intensity of the moment of the shot.⁵³⁷ The intensive, reflexive face carries "a pure Power" and "a pure Quality" *per se*.⁵³⁸ In other words, the affect exists for and in itself and does not need to give rise to anything else. The affect goes beyond the reference system, the "firstness," which Deleuze notes, "[i]t [firstness] is not a sensation, a feeling, an idea, but the quality of a possible sensation, feeling or idea. Firstness is thus the category of the Possible: it gives a proper consistency to the possible, it expresses the possible without actualizing it, whilst making it a quality of power."⁵³⁹ Thus, the affect, i.e., the expressed, maintains its quality without changing and produces "the virtual conjunction" with the pure potential that is not actualized, identified, or determined in particular ways.⁵⁴⁰ In this way, on another level, the affect is a spiritual entity and comes into any-space-whatever, "the pure locus of the possible," without any linkage to a determinate space.⁵⁴¹

⁵³⁷Deleuze, *Cinema I*, 87-89.

⁵³⁸Ibid., 90.

⁵³⁹Ibid., 98.

⁵⁴⁰Ibid., 102, 109, and 112.

⁵⁴¹Ibid., 87-111.

Referring back to the medium and close-up shots of Maria when Ueno sings, these facial images, on the surface, are nothing but expressions of feelings and actions based on the narrative conditions set up for the film. On another level, however, the close-up shots of her face themselves become “the intensive expressive,” the pure possible, constituting a tactile space with feelings that are not actualized at each moment.⁵⁴² At the same time, Ueno and Maria’s singing show how the affection images of face are not only presented in close-ups and medium-shots, but these shots also involve voices which express the pure potentiality and a spiritual entity for and in themselves. Deleuze expounds that once one leaves face-centered close-up shots, then a more nuanced system of emotion that is not easy to be identified is opened up. It can even induce non-human affects like the perception image.⁵⁴³ In this respect, the subtle yet highly expressive movements of Maria’s face as she sings eloquently render the singing body’s feelings, pathos, and pure potential *per se*, thereby composing a space that is not determined but is “identical to the power of the spirit” with both human and non-human affects.⁵⁴⁴ In keeping with this, the non-human affects spring from Maria’s extremely expressive facial movements themselves without respect to her association with the nightingale; her facial movements are entirely independent of the system of reference.

In the final scene, Maria sings “My Nightingale” in front of Dmitri’s gravestone and Ueno looks at her, standing aside her at a little distance.⁵⁴⁵ Two shots of the Cathedral of Iverskaya and flowers in full bloom are inserted while she sings, a juxtaposition of architecture and landscape. Noticeably, this scene is an echo of the

⁵⁴²Ibid., 90-98.

⁵⁴³Ibid., 109-110

⁵⁴⁴Ibid., 117.

⁵⁴⁵The film also presents images of real and of artificial birds, both mobile and immobile in landscapes, in long shots. Two white bird-shaped mobiles hang on the stage and oscillate in the air while Maria sings “My Nightingale” on the stage of the outdoor theater at the charity concert. In addition, a model of a bird set up like a scarecrow sits on a post near a checkpoint, and orchestra music follows, with graduations of tempo from a fast crescendo to a slow decrescendo, foregrounding war clouds that hover over the city and serve as a harbinger of the outbreak of war.

scene set at a hospital, in which Sumida thinks about Maria and his wife after their separation, thereby intimately connecting Sumida and Dmitri as two fathers. Deleuze discusses how a still life, such as a vase, and certain objects in Yasujiro Ozu's films create direct images of time and pure optical sound images. In particular, the scene at the end of Ozu's *Late Spring* showing the daughter's mixed feelings through the alteration between a half smile on her face and a burst of tears is separated by a long shot of a vase, a still life. Deleuze differentiates a landscape from an empty space from a still life, though they are similar and their images can be indiscriminately presented on film. He notes: [i]f empty spaces, interiors or exteriors, constitute purely optical (and sound) situations, still lifes are the reverse, the correlate."⁵⁴⁶ Deleuze goes on to write that, "[t]here is becoming, change, passage. But the form of what changes does not itself change, does not pass on. This is time, time itself, 'a little time in its pure state: a direct-time image, which gives what changes the unchanging form in which the change is produced.'"⁵⁴⁷ Despite Deleuze's differentiation between landscape and still life, the long shots of the cathedral and flowers function like a still life in the sense that they give both Sumida and Maria a certain delicate focus and make a direct relation to time and thought, thereby rendering the optical image visible and perceivable. Moreover, the vase has its own time, a duration, and it represents its duration with its unchanging form. The image of its unchanging form is preceded and followed by images of changing states. The images of changing states are shots of the daughter, whose mixed feelings appear on her face, and interspersed shots of her mixed feelings – the changing – with that of the vase – the unchanging –,⁵⁴⁸ her mixed feelings are thrown into high relief for the viewers. Although Deleuze clearly differentiates a landscape or an empty space from a still life, the landscapes of the last

⁵⁴⁶Deleuze, *Cinema II*, 16-17.

⁵⁴⁷Ibid., 17.

⁵⁴⁸Ibid., 16-18.

shots function like still lifes in a sense that “becoming, change, and passage” are presented as if nothing changes in the motionless forms in the landscape and the object in nature, so that a direct image of time, the full, becomes perceptible. Not only do Maria’s reflexive and affective expressions and facial micromovements represent a space of spirit, a spiritual entity, but the insertion of the spatial images disconnected with the act of speech yields a change in time, inscribing one of the fundamental features in modern cinema. What is all the more intriguing in the final scene is that “the time-images,” the images of the epitaph, and music, that is, Maria’s singing, are interposed at certain intervals at the same time, all of which reveal the composition of the audiovisual images and their relationships in cinema.

According to Deleuze, one of the major features of modern sound cinema is a break from the sensor-monitor system, that is, images and speech-acts do not necessarily correspond to each other in a coherent way. Visual images themselves can be independently readable and legible and take on new natures and meanings with their own autonomy, separate from speech-acts and sounds. Deleuze defines visual images that are composed of irrational cuts as “an archaeology, a stratigraphy, a tectonics.”⁵⁴⁹ In this manner, sound images can be speech-acts and visual images can be readable and stratigraphic, and the relationship between the two is one of autonomy: “they still constitute no less of an audio-visual image, all the purer in that the new correspondence is born from the determinate forms of their non-correspondence: it is the limit of each which connects it to the other,” thereby constituting a free, indirect relationship.⁵⁵⁰

Dmitri’s epitaph is shown twice on the screen, just like an intertitle to be read and it adds another readable, scriptural component to the visual images. The shots of his epitaph are inserted in between other images, a stratigraphic layer which is similar

⁵⁴⁹Deleuze, *Cinema II*, 243-248.

⁵⁵⁰*Ibid.*, 261.

to a third-person narration because the epitaph is engraved in Russian, and Maria and Dimitri's names are shown in Japanese in the subtitles without presenting the subject of the inscription on the tombstone. In addition, Maria's return to Japan also renders Maria's identity all the more ambiguous. Does the presentation of the petrified name of Maria in the epitaph mean her identity as 'Russian' ceases to exist in the real and Mariko, the Japanese identity, is being revived by the Japanese father, or can her two identities be negotiated and exist in a fluid status? At the level of diegesis, the song "My Nightingale" is dedicated to commemorate Dimitri; however, the audio image is juxtaposed with other visual and pictorial images, thereby creating a rupture between them. The singing, a form of a speech-act, whose quality is expanded to the immensity of time and space and both human and non-human affects, is situated in multiple relational webs for the creation of a heterogeneous (re)linkage of the visual and the sounds.⁵⁵¹ Thus, the film apparently unfolds a coherent storyline revolving around Japanese hospitality towards Russian émigrés through the placement of sound and music on the one hand; on the other hand, it subtly reveals how the movement-images and the audiovisual images work together simultaneously in a relation that is independent yet produces a complex but creative topography of cinema without limiting them to a definite and closed dimension of the regime of image. In this respect, the significance of the film lies at the heart of co-relational workings of audiovisual and (micro)movement-images across speech-acts and singing, producing the fissure and instability out of simultaneous (re)presentation of those images wherein the new potential forged by cinematography and creative ways of seeing cinema are simultaneously delicately inscribed but not wholly defined.

⁵⁵¹Chion's analysis of screaming points also presents how shouting and screaming are related to limitlessness. He notes that "[t]he screaming point is where speech is suddenly extinct, a black hole, the exit of being." Chion, *The Voice in Cinema*, 79.

Conclusion

From its inception, Japanese musical film started off with a tension in adopting native or European-American elements with alterations during the war period. Yasujiro and Akihara both explicitly expressed their intention to produce “My Nightingale” to represent a European Asia in Harbin, revealing their desire for prioritizing a European-centered culture of music and architecture, among many other things, over other ethnic cultural elements within the state. The juxtaposition of select images of the architecture of Beijing, Shanghai, and Harbin as well as their surrounding images evidently attests to their primary motivation in filmmaking. The culture of Harbin is identified with Western classical music, as distinctly opposed to Shanghai’s modern popular culture. Just as White Russians are perceived as racially white, Russia and Russian culture are identified with the West while keeping the internal tension between popular and classical in music as vocalists perform both of them.

In terms of cinematography, the film employs diverse noises and sound effects along with music and singing voices to make audio-sonic settings more realistic and authentic, an amplification of audiovisual effects. The sound effects inserted at certain intervals function as musical elements and indicate the malleability of time and space in cinema, thereby multiply affecting the viewer’s response to images. At the same time, the scene with discord between the source of sound, speech-acts, and subtitles defers the audience’s identification of them, so that the incongruity between image and sound renders the direct relation of the two more ambiguous and creates a cinematic, hermeneutic space with multi-layered signifiers that does not produce any designated center for the viewers. Moreover, the placement of music and certain objects in and between images gives a direct or indirect sense of time and time-images and imbues the film with spiritual elements, whose potential and power are infinitely

immense insofar as the image stands alone and is at once relationally linked to other images. On the surface, the film seemingly (re)presents asymmetrical relationships in gender, race, and culture that are inherently embedded in hierarchal positioning in the field of cultural production. At the same time, however, the very existence of diverse images of movement and time evinces the passing and mobile moments where the relationship between image and speech-acts is indirect, irresolute, unidentifiable, and even unlocatable. Thus, the boundaries of the human and the non-human, male and female, the real and the imaginary become fluid and permeable, all of which are floating in a status of constant flux without descending definitely and fully into one particular realm. The simultaneous presentation of interrelated images delicately reveals unstable and ambiguous topographies of cinematographic techniques and multifaceted sensory and spatiotemporal worlds within and for them. From the perspective of the viewers, the images eventually bring about a momentary yet potential thread of cinematic creativity, even if they are glimpses of constantly changing images. Thus, the significance of the film resides precisely at the dynamic junctures wherein actualizing, identifying forces and transitory, mobile forces in images work together at once, thereby highlighting the fundamentally ambiguous nature of constituting unbounded meanings against any homogenous and consistent stratum. It is at this point that achievements of artistic sensibility and spiritual power prevail over state propaganda strategies, making artistic and technological arrangements of images and strategies slip into perennial, relational webs for exchange and (un)markings of boundaries.

CHAPTER 6:
DETERRITORIALIZATION: (INTERRACIAL) MARRIAGE, DESIRE, AND
MOVEMENT IN LUO BINJI'S STORT STORY "A FELLOW VILLAGER,
KANG TIANGANG"

Luo Binji's short story, "Xiangqin-Kangtiangang" (A Fellow Villager, Kang Tiangang), was published in 1943 when China was caught in the throes of continuing war with Japan.⁵⁵² Nishino Hiroyoshi's 1963 introduction to the story illustrates how, two decades after the war, interpreting the text was still conditioned and limited by the sociopolitical contexts in which the work was produced. Nishino reads this fictional work allegorically as the advocacy of self-sacrifice, embodying the protagonist's uncompromising spirit during the time of war in which China was in a stalemate, fraught with despair and anguish.⁵⁵³ It goes without saying that the preservation of Chinese sovereignty was foremost on the Chinese political agenda when its existence was in severe peril. However, the depiction of the protagonist's migrancy as a ginseng digger offers an important reference point from which to rethink the individual's association and dissociation with family, community, nature, and social space. This work portrays how Kang Tiangang, the protagonist, desperately strives to marry a woman to form a family and thus questions its meaning as a basic unit for forming

⁵⁵²Originally published in *Wenyibao* in January 1943. In Luo Binji, *Luo Binji duanpian xiaoshuo xuan* (Selection of Luo Binji's Short Stories) (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1980), 20-45.

Luo Binji was born 1917 in Huichun, Jilin Province. *Bian chui xian shang* (On the border line), Luo's first work, was published in 1939. This work represents the anti-Japanese struggle, which led him to receive the attention from literary circles. He was the member of the C.C.P., and describing anti-Japanese struggle was one of the main themes in his fiction writing as well as reportage and writing propaganda for the Party. Li Yang, ed., *A Biographical Dictionary of Modern Chinese Writers*, compiled by The Modern Chinese Literary Archives (Beijing: New World Press, 1994), 210.

⁵⁵³Nishino Hiroyoshi, "Kangri zhanzheng houqi de Luo Binji xiaoshuo" (Luo Binji's short stories during the later stage of the period of the War of Resistance to Japan), trans. Wen Shi, originally published in Keiou gijuku daigaku keizaigakubu, *Hiyoshi ronbunshuu*, Issue 24, May 1975. In Liaoning sheke xueyuan wenxue yanjiusuo (Liaoning Academy of Social Sciences Institute of Literature), *Dongbei xiandai wenxue shiliao* (Historical materials of modern Northeast Chinese literature), 8 (March 1984): 311.

nation-states, while foregrounding a new meaning of the social and the social forces resisting such formation. Kang's relentless journey to discover ginseng without settling in one place is contrasted to his friend's marriage to a Russian widow, one of the important hinges in the story upon which Nishino has not touched. With a focus on how the perceptions and practices of marriage as a social contract function in Kang's personal and social life, this chapter explores the meaning of seeking marriage by relocating, the status of non-belonging, and its relation to deterritorialization in terms of spatial and temporal formations of home and homelessness when the traveler does not return to a native place.⁵⁵⁴

Synopsis

The story recounts Kang Tiangang's unflagging pursuit of ginseng as a way to prepare for dowry to marry his lover. He is a farm laborer from Hainan whom a rich man annually hires and who falls in love with the man's daughter who is under direct

⁵⁵⁴The concept of deterritorialization is proposed by Deleuze and Guatarri, particularly in *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, trans. Brian Massumi (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 1987). "In complexity theory terms, deterritorialization works by increasing or decreasing the intensity of certain system states past a critical threshold, which either moves the system to a previously established but non-actualized virtual attractor ('relative deterritorialization'), or indeed prompts the thresholds ('absolute' deterritorialization'). In plain language, deterritorialization is the process of leaving home, of altering your habits and of learning new tricks." [It is] "the always complex process by which bodies leave a territorial assemblage following the lines of flight that are constitutive of that assemblage and 'reterritorialize,' that is, form new assemblages (there is never a simple escape or simple return to the old territory)." Mark Bonta and John Protevi, *Deleuze and Geophilosophy: A Guide and Glossary* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2004), 78. Kang's departure from his hometown is related to this concept due to the complex nature of a movement that is not designed to "simpl[y] return to old territory." I will explain this more in the body of the chapter.

There have been debates on how to define marriage in Europe and the U.S. . Carole Pateman traces the changing formulations of marriage from contract to status in works by William Thompson, Kant, Hegel, Hobbes, feminists of the time, and contemporary feminists' critical responses. She concludes that the theory of status has given way to the theory of contract, leading to the consolidation of patriarchy. For a more detailed discussion, see Carole Pateman, *The Sexual Contract* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988), 154-188. My use of marriage as a form of social contract is not specifically drawn from Pateman's discussion; it is more closely related to the social practice of marriage at the time in China. In the story, the terms of marriage are set by the father and involve the two males, rather than the woman herself, although their agreement directly affects both spouses' lives. However, this form of marriage mediated by males' contract also pertains to the fundamental nature of marriage as contract developed in Europe and the U.S. .

supervision of the father. Her father meddles their relationship and does not acknowledge it, yet will allow her to marry him if Kang can purchase “twenty *mu* of wheat field, a livestock that can plough, and a vehicle that carries fertilizer” within three years. (21) However, Kang cannot afford to meet these demands in such a short time and thus sells off his ancestors’ graveyard and sets off on a thorny journey to Guandong, the Northeast region, leaving his mother behind, in order to acquire marriage funds quickly, though what he expects to be a short journey ends up being a lifetime one. The woman Kang loves gives him a porcelain statue of the Goddess of Mercy as a token of her love while expressing her desire that his dream will soon come true. When Kang goes to Guandong, perceived as a bonanza, a land of promise at that time, he meets a friend, Sun Baotou, in the town of Luwo. Sun suggests that if Kang works as a laborer and reclaims his land, Sun can pay him wages. However, Kang refuses this offer and continues his travels to the mountains to look for ginseng. Three years pass, but he still cannot find the plant. He visits Sun’s town to ask someone who is going to his hometown in Hainan to deliver a message to the woman, saying that he needs one more year. After seeing Sun’s marriage to a Russian widow and the increase of his property, Kang reconsiders his past decisions, but he does not follow the footsteps of Sun and continues to tread the life path of being a ginseng digger. After that, seventeen years pass, no matter how desperately he makes every effort to discover ginseng, nothing comes up. Moreover, to complete the sum of his miseries, he develops rheumatism and cannot use his legs freely, greatly limiting his occupational performance capacity and making his plan a far-fetched dream. His continual failure marks his eclipse among other ginseng diggers. They ridicule him, and he thus gradually degenerates into a figure of misfortune. Falling into a fathomless pit of despair, he crushes the porcelain statue of the Goddess of Mercy and throws it on the mountain in order not to leave any trace of himself, and he tries to release his

dog by loosening its leash, a way of killing it by neglect. At this most importunate point, he discovers ginseng, but he is unable to reach it. He returns to the other diggers and tells them the location of this ginseng. Finally, he dies, and they send his corpse back to his hometown.

The events of the story are set in the 1860s;⁵⁵⁵ thus, there is a time gap between the events and the writing of the work in which the narrator's concerns are embedded. At the level of representation, the actual time of the writing displays the transformations of social relations and the values of things at the time of modernization. However, at another level, this fictional work can be read contextually by situating it in the social and historical contexts in which the building of the Chinese nation-state emerges as a key agenda for the Chinese, especially when the sovereignty of China was in part held by Japan. This way of contextualizing the story is different from Hiroyoshi's reading in that it does not take descriptions of traveling and the protagonist's death at face value, thereby providing an alternative reading for emphasizing nationalistic resistance. Why does the protagonist travel to the mountains, refusing to form a home while remaining a bachelor? To be sure, Kang's lack of financial resources to return to his hometown is a primary explanation for maintaining his bachelorhood. However, given that the family is the basic unit constituting the nation, this story can shed fresh light on the possibility of deterritorialization within the formation of the boundary of the nation-state.

Marriage as a Form of Social Contract and the Centrality of Manhood

Marriage as the fundamental basis for forming a family for social reproduction in the text has two facets: one is Kang's desire for marriage that is completely regulated by the terms of the contract stipulated by the woman's father, who stomps

⁵⁵⁵There is a specific time marker in the story: "It is probably after the 1860s." Luo, *Selection of Luo Binji's Short Stories*, 22.

on Kang's wish to marry, and the other is Sun's marriage to a Russian widow, an instance of interracial marriage. The sharp contrast between Kang's inability to marry and Sun's realization of conjugal union demonstrates how the social practice of marriage provides a model of marital relations, the institution of marriage, and family structure which is founded upon the preservation of male private property rights and gender politics. Kang's qualification to marry is entirely determined by his economic status; the woman's family is more affluent than he, but this does not simply imply that social status is a major obstacle to marriage. The woman's family property is not handed down to her or her future spouse so they may unite; instead the male must establish a stable financial source to support the woman prior to matrimony. The exclusion of female property rights confirms the social ideology of marital patterning in which the structure of marriage is built upon gender division, centering the man as the head of the family and the provider of material sources with the woman as his dependent.

In the story, the woman's father functions as a rule maker, whose role and power are tantamount to that of the state. He is the subject with social authority who can judge people's qualification for marriage and sanction its legitimacy. The patriarch's judgment of their romantic relationship on the one hand fixes and consolidates existing gender roles and norms in family life; on the other hand, at a deeper level, it is nothing more than the process of situating males at the center of the family and society. Therefore, the terms for marriage that the woman's father imposes upon Kang and Kang's attempt to attain them signify the reproduction of male subjects as representatives of the family through the marital contract. This marital practice by the present and future heads of families indicates that private terms for marriage are ultimately extended to the larger social realm of the reproduction of the male-centered family system, laying the foundation for the nation. Personal desire and

need cannot be affirmed and achieved without the mediation of male contracts, revealing that a woman's body becomes an object to be exchanged according to male terms.

The Working of Desire: Female Body, Value, and Capital

Sun's marriage to a Russian widow enables Kang to reconsider with envy and regret the path he has chosen for his life and his lost opportunities. Sun acquires fortune as well as a wife and a home. The white Russian woman in China does not represent the privilege of whiteness, but she is instead subordinated in the family and society according to gender ideology and the social value of women. Her status as a foreign woman in China is further devalued by her remarriage and her clumsiness. Kang thinks that it is surprising that she has such a pretty daughter, given her humble appearance. (28) To Kang, the daughter's beauty serves as a reminder of the beauty of his lover; his desire to possess her directly stems from his perception that her charming appearance makes him happy. (31) In order to possess her, he must accumulate wealth to exchange it with her father. Picking ginseng is equivalent to obtaining her. (31) Therefore, the female body is given the materiality of a product and is equated with a commodity. Kang's sale of the ancestral cemetery also attests to the way the woman's body functions as a sexual commodity; if he did not love that woman from the beginning and had married someone else, regardless of appearance and ugliness, he would have no need to sell the cemetery and go to Guandong. (39-40) The significance of the woman is completely reliant on her sexual attractiveness, so that the female body becomes the central site of desire and a commodity to be exchanged with monetary value based on the male contract.⁵⁵⁶

⁵⁵⁶Susan Koshy has coined the term "sexual capital" to explain how "the Asian American woman moves from being a sexual commodity to becoming the possessor of sexual capital." In parallel with Bourdieu's definition of social and cultural capital, sexual capital cannot be reduced to economic capital, and instead figures as the power to manage Asian American women's relationships through

A woman's value is increased by virtue of the desirability of her body; the object is more desirable the more unavailable it is, which operates in disproportion to Kang's wishes. In other words, the role of desire is to make the object of desire "infinitely desirable in the eyes of the subject."⁵⁵⁷ Kang's real or presumed desire to possess the woman from the perspective of its 'origin' does have concrete, physical significance, but operates in accordance with the law of value enacted by the standard of beauty, which is amplified by his personal projection onto the object. The impossibility of possessing the material body causes the object to lose its concrete meaning in the end and becomes a kind of empty signifier.⁵⁵⁸ The more Kang pursues his desire, the more the object loses material significance because of its unavailability. In this respect, the body becomes the interlocking site between capital and value; the body of value is appreciated and exchanged only by the capital he earns to meet the father's outrageous terms. Kang's inability to attain his desire because of his lack of resources, on the contrary, yields an unexpected yet critical ramification: the journey becomes an integral part of reaching the object, functioning as the root source of energy vital to his life. The movement itself signifies the process of reducing an unapproachable distance between the subject and the object of desire as a way to reify his wish and satisfy his desire. Simultaneously, Kang's constant movement and his hope and despair in gaining an unattainable object is identical to the process of living

romance and marriage. Susan Koshy, *Sexual Naturalization: Asian Americans and Miscegenation* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004), 15.

However, my discussion of the increase of value does not completely correspond to sexual capital in that the woman's value is determined and accrued by males, without her agency, thus revealing the asymmetrical power relationship of gender. In addition, the woman's body has a concrete economic dimension, since her body has to be exchanged for the capital Kang earns.

⁵⁵⁷Rene Girard, *Deceit, Desire, and the Novel: Self and Other in Literary Structure*, trans. Yvonne Freccero (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976), 7.

I do not intend completely to apply Girard's theory of desire to the story, since Kang's desire is not directly derived from *mimesis*, that is, the imitation of the desire of the other, functioning as a model or an example. Although the father can be considered his rival who prevents Kang from achieving his goal, their competition or Kang's hatred towards the father is not explicitly described. Thus, I attempt to show how desire works in association with the creation of gendered value.

⁵⁵⁸*Ibid.*, 85.

It is interesting to note that Kang's love object is nameless.

per se, which is replete with the junction of incessant self-affirmation and self-negation. Within the workings of desire, any gratification of his desire is always deferred to a future time, which enables Kang to travel without belonging to a place. Therefore, the flow of movement contains two divergent moments in which the final destination is mapped out but cannot be reached. The law of desire is set by the subject, but keeps the subject moving.

Interracial Intimacy: Gendered Cultural Contact and Speech Acts in the “Native” Language of the Male

While Kang’s desire for a happy home life increases, the Russian woman is devalued because of her lack of beauty, her previous marriage, and her partial and faulty knowledge of the Chinese language. When a woman learns a male’s ‘native’ language, she demonstrates their unequal status in power relations as she is assimilated into male culture. In addition, she prepares Russian food that is consumed in Northeast China. Sun offers to Kang the vodka and Russian food that she cooks in order to exhibit his distinctive taste that differentiates him from the people who marry Chinese women. On the one hand, Sun is an active receiver of Russian dietary culture by practicing and preserving Russian table manners and consuming its food.⁵⁵⁹ On the other hand, he is the creator of taste and fashion in the realm of food consumption and the domestic sphere. This detail shows that his life-style involves the practice of fine taste and fashion; it further suggests that taste and manners shift as a result of social reproduction in which a consuming subject is receptive to another culture. Therefore, the contact between the different cultures of the Chinese man and Russian woman can contribute to the production of exquisite taste, which further produces cultural capital

⁵⁵⁹When Kang slips a rib off a tray, both of his hands are full, but he tries to use a hand to put it back on the tray; he is not sure what to put down, the knife or the fork. At this moment, Madaman, Sun’s Russian wife, takes his knife and fork and cuts the food for Kang. Luo, *Selection of Luo Binji’s Short Stories*, 29.

through its practice in the family. At the same time, the reception of the other ‘foreign’ culture is gendered in that Russian culture is reducible to food and drink, which is redolent of its introduction by Kaosuofu’s Chinese friend in “Kaosuofu’s Hair.” Seen in this light, the mode of reception in cultural exchange is asymmetrical and bears a colonial nature in which the cultures of the Other are subordinated to Chinese culture to the extent that its effects are minimized to preserve Chinese dominance.

Not only is cultural contact arranged hierarchically in a gendered way, but racial contact through language is subject to Chinese patriarchy. Even the Russian woman who can speak Chinese is deprived of her right to speak; her husband plays the role of a representative on her behalf and articulates and repeats her words in the narrative, especially when Kang visits him. The narrator describes the story from the husband’s point of view; he is the subject who directs her. “She says a few words [the narrator does not specify what she says]. ‘See, she still asks [me] what she [should] do? The guest is already in, but she still asks [me] what she [should] do! Bring a bottle of vodka ---- What did you do just now? Did you squeeze milk? Don’t do that. Just go to make *subu* soup!’ ”(17) This scene shows that the foreign woman’s speech acts and agency are under the direct control of a Chinese patriarch, who maintains the familial order upon which the national order of China is founded. In short, the passage exemplifies how a Russian woman’s capacity to speak Chinese is monitored by the Chinese male, and her enunciation itself is assessed as incomplete because of her race, even if she can express herself fully.⁵⁶⁰

The Russian woman’s speaking Chinese indicates that the choice of language in a bilingual family is allied to male dominance in the family structure. Thus, the male’s ‘native’ language has priority over that of the female’s and embodies the order of gender and the nation. The male’s reception of the female’s culture is limited to

⁵⁶⁰The Chinese narrator states that “she says in fluent Chinese. . . .” Ibid., 27.

dietary items to flaunt his sophisticated taste, thereby elevating his social status as a distinguished individual in family and society. Females are thereby subordinate to males because they assume a supportive role in practicing and disseminating changing taste and fashion as cultural capital. The Russian woman is accepted and included in Chinese society in order for her Chinese husband to develop a particular exquisite taste. But she has to assimilate to the Chinese linguistic community and the Chinese householder who has the authority to correct her speech acts as a representative of the family and the nation. Therefore, the foreign woman's interlocution as assessed by the Chinese patriarch pertains to the same logic of the displacement of identity as Guoli: she has to articulate herself in the language of the Other, yet her speech acts are imperfect and must be completed and approved by the male 'native' speaker. Sun's continual repetition and completion of her enunciation demonstrates how the language of the Other is imposed upon the foreigner by the 'native' speaker. As a result, the home becomes a site for the reproduction of male national subjectivity through the gendered nature of the choice of language that promotes female assimilation into the male's 'native' language.

Ontology of Non-Belonging: Gift, Native Land, and Ritual

Initially, Kang's journey to discover ginseng is motivated by his desire to marry his love object, but the process of traveling itself inscribes the possibility that personal movement is not necessarily connected to the generation of value, accumulation of capital, or creation of a sense of belonging to a community or a nation. His discarding of the woman's gift and his sale of his ancestors' cemetery reveal that an individual has the capacity to resist the homogenization of social relations and space for building a family. The woman's gift betokens more than a personal possession as a hallmark of their intimacy. It also stands for a possible

change of status from a gift to a commodity, in that gifts and commodities are both exchangeable items in social life. Traditionally, the exchange of gifts has not been viewed as an exchange of commodities. The former is not profit-oriented and is based on sociality, whereas the latter is mediated by money. However, Arjun Appadurai opposes this stark distinction between the two and the Marxian concept of the commodity which focuses on the mode of production and consumption. Instead, he proposes the concept of the “commodity situation.” He proposes that “*the commodity situation in the social life of any ‘thing’ be defined as the situation in which its exchangeability (past, present or future) for some other things is its socially relevant feature.*”⁵⁶¹ It comprises “(1) the commodity phase of the social life of any thing; (2) the commodity candidacy of any thing; and (3) the commodity context in which any thing may be placed.”⁵⁶² Within this formulation, the meaning of the gift in the story is not limited to the level of its materiality but can be extended to its commodity phase, candidacy, and context.

The porcelain statue of the God of Mercy, which is Kang’s sole possession, links his worldly life to the spiritual world, embedding a subjective desire for happiness. It also provides him with emotional and mental support as he plunges into the bottomless, murky abyss of despair from the incessant failure of finding ginseng. At the surface level, Kang’s disposal of the gift, an emblem of the woman’s love, is viewed as an expression of his self-denial as well as a significant precursor to his resolution to die. The destruction of the statue, symbolizing his other self, is nothing but sheer submission to grim social reality, in which the terms of marriage fix and reproduce the social order which Kang attempts to challenge. From another perspective, once the gift is materialized as a handicraft, it is designed to be circulated

⁵⁶¹ Arjun Appadurai, ed., *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspectives* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 11-12. Emphasis in the original.

⁵⁶² *Ibid.*, 13.

according to users' diverse aims and concerns. The very potential for exchange in social relations is indicative of its commodity situation, in which a gift is a candidate to be a "commodity" whose status can be changed at any time. Therefore, Kang's abandonment of the gift signifies the complete renunciation of the very possibility of its transformation into a commodity with monetary value. This is the rejection of the standardization of things whose meaning and value are generated through repeated social practice.

In addition to Kang's destruction of the gift brought from his hometown, his travels also contest social codes that are established for the production of an individual's sense of belonging. The fact that he sells the graveyard where his ancestors were buried to pay for his travel expenses proves that his tie to his homeland is completely severed. His attachment to his native place is renounced to fulfill his personal desire. In China, ancestor worship, one of the root components of Confucianism, is the fundamental ritual that validates a person's origin and maintains familial heritage and genealogy. Kang, the male successor of the family, is the subject responsible for the preservation of family and nation in the context of Chinese Confucianism. His physical absence from his hometown as well as the material absence of the object of worship signifies the dismantling of the cultural construction of space in which humans interact with nature to form a regulated social unity.⁵⁶³ The discontinuation of worship renders space insignificant because of the lack of rituals, thereby staving off the homogenization of space. Therefore, the origin, the essential source of a man's cultural and national identity, is entirely abnegated, and the social

⁵⁶³Robert David Sack differentiates space from place: the former is "a physical property," the latter is "both physical and cultural." In other words, space is the physical world and is not produced by humans. In his view, the construction of space in Henri Lefebvre's *The Production of Space* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1974) also refers to the construction of place according to this distinction. Sack also notes that space and place are relational and are interwoven through movement. See Robert David Sack, *Homo Geographicus: A Framework for Action, Awareness, and Moral Concern* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), 33-35, 265. However, I do not strictly follow this differentiation; space is not limited to the physical, natural world, considering that the virtual world also can exist as a space that is, in fact, conceived by humans.

mechanisms for its reproduction and maintenance are destabilized. Considering that family and nation are an inseparable continuum, Kang's movement, in which return is only possible through working for an unachievable, prolonged desire, reveals how the production of space and its meaning are contingent upon human activity. The meaning of space that is culturally constructed by performing Confucian norms and ideology can be altered by a subject's power to move. Kang's movement and the abandonment of the graveyard and ancestor worship disrupt a particular spatial formation that develops into the homogenization of space and spatial stability produced and reinforced by the constant practice of cultural and social norms.

Movement and Migrancy: In-Between Home and Homelessness

Kang's travels from his native place also involve changing perceptions of home and homelessness and the inevitable tension between the two. Home functions as a socially constructed space in which a man should follow social practice, but in the story it becomes an unstable site to be contested and further deconstructed, affirming the value of homelessness once endorsed by Buddhism. Kang's carrying of the porcelain God of Mercy conveys a different value of home than the Confucian emphasis on family. In Christianity, homelessness and vagrancy were recognized and upheld as an ideal, and these themes appear frequently in Scripture. The pilgrim, a homeless wanderer, was acknowledged and lauded in both Christianity and Islam. "The ethos of vagrancy is also present in Buddhism: Buddha and his disciples were members of an ancient order of wandering almsmen."⁵⁶⁴ Thus, the story reflects dual reference points concerning the construction and deconstruction of home. On the one hand, Sun's interracial intimacy reinforces the Confucian social order, rather than introducing a new order in the pursuit of conjugal equality. On the other hand,

⁵⁶⁴David N. Benjamin, ed., *The Home: Words, Interpretations, Meanings, and Environments* (Hants: England: Avebuty, 1995), 57.

Buddhism's vision of homelessness confirms a social alternative to marriage and its standardization of heterosexual relations. Kang's homelessness and migrancy directly opposes the institutionalization and maintenance of home through social practice; he deconstructs the constituents of home, so that the meaning of home itself is fundamentally questioned. The value of homelessness is also presented as resistance to the unifying cult of domesticity and matrimony as social and cultural norms.

Migration as Social Force for Spatial and Temporal Heterogeneity and Deterritorialization

Kang's migration from Hainan to Guandong Mountain, Manchuria, appears to be connected to the migration boom at the beginning of the nineteenth century.⁵⁶⁵ The Manchu emperors adopted the policy of "seal and prohibit" (*fengjin*) in order to preserve the Manchu's racial and cultural heritage by confining the Han Chinese to the Willow Palisade. Manchuria had "the reservoir function" and was autonomous, free of Han influence.⁵⁶⁶ However, "the reservoir function, the sense of autonomy, and [the Chinese's] 'turning back' to [Ming] China were to be dramatically affected by the migration flood of the late nineteenth century."⁵⁶⁷ Ginseng was one of the principal items that "the Manchus sought to monopol[ize]" in the economic exchange of this region.⁵⁶⁸ Kang's migration into Manchuria reflects this new flux of Han people to Manchuria in the nineteenth century. His search for ginseng, one of the bedrocks of the regional economy, suggests that migration transforms an economic activity that is inextricably tied to the social and economic interests of the people. The migration of Han people into Manchuria emerged as a new social force that resisted the Manchu monopoly of economy and culture. It demonstrates how people's movement changes

⁵⁶⁵Duara, *Sovereignty and Authenticity*, 43.

⁵⁶⁶*Ibid.*, 42.

⁵⁶⁷*Ibid.*, 44.

⁵⁶⁸*Ibid.*, 12.

the geography of the economy, which is conditioned by the flow of capital and the operation of desire, in terms of social and ethnic composition.⁵⁶⁹ Moreover, the influx of a new group of people promotes the heterogeneity of space and population, so that people act as social agents inducing the interactions of cultures and codes of conduct.

When Kang first visits Sun, he offers Kang vodka, displaying his acquired new taste, since this place does not have sorghum (*gaoliang*) wine. Sun also says that “even if he [Kang] sits down and drinks, people in the hills of Guandong (the Northeast) do not stress manners and principles (*lida*), so please do not refuse.” (24) From the perspective of people from Inside the Pass, *Guannei*, this means a breach of its etiquette.⁵⁷⁰ Sun’s adoption of the drinking culture of the Northeast and Kang’s preservation of manners of Inside the Pass and simultaneous dismissal of the customs of Inside the Pass, i.e., disregard of the ancestral burial ground, represent the retention of two different spatial and cultural values rife with disparities. According to complexity theory, defined as “the study of the self-organizing capacities of ‘open’ systems,” which relates to Deleuze and Guattari’s geophilosophy, the state space of self-organizing systems consists of three fundamental components: attractors, bifurcators, and symmetry-breaking events.⁵⁷¹ Attractors are singularities themselves and are “patterns of behavior,” and bifurcators are “thresholds where behavior patterns change.”⁵⁷² Symmetry-breaking events “occur in ‘zones of sensitivity’ where bifurcators cluster and amplify each other’s effects so that a new set of attractors and

⁵⁶⁹On his way to the border of the Jilin Province, Kang stays in a town for two days. The narrator calls it a town where *Liao* and *Man* people live together (*zaju*). Luo, *Selection of Luo Binji’s Short Stories*, 22.

⁵⁷⁰The Inside the Pass is a translation of *guannei*, but this word is not used in the text. Pang Zengyu’s study, *Heitudi wenhua yu dongbei zuojia qun* (The Culture of Black Soil and the Group of Northeast Writers), offers Northeast literature and spirit as an alternative culture that supplements *guannei* culture, which is composed of strong, centered consciousness. Pang Zengyu, *Heitudi wenhua yu dongbei zuojia qun* (Changsha: Hunan jiaoyu chubanshe, 1995), 148. Literally “Inside the Pass” refers to China Proper, or China south of the Great Wall, and the Northeast (Manchuria) is outside it.

⁵⁷¹Bonta and Protevi, *Deleuze and Geophilosophy*, 17.

⁵⁷²*Ibid.*, 20.

bifurcators is produced. . . .”⁵⁷³ There are two types of bifurcators: one type is when “the system moves to a pre-established pattern” and the other type is when “a new set of patterns and threshold is released.”⁵⁷⁴

Sun and Kang play the roles of attractor and bifurcator respectively; Sun’s disregard of the manners and principles of behavioral codes practiced Inside the Pass of China can be seen as a bifurcator that triggers a change of a code of conduct in Kang. In turn, Kang’s regard for the sense of proprieties of Inside the Pass functions as an attractor for Sun, but it can also function as a bifurcator for people, who were not from Inside the Pass of China, wherein attractors and bifurcators interact in the creation of a fresh threshold. By drawing parallels between a force integrated into a locality and a new force preserving the culture of a ‘native’ land, the story illustrates the ways in which differentiation and singularities coexist to prevent the homogenization and standardization of space. To be sure, the characteristics of local culture, after all, might be associated with the formation of Chinese nationality.⁵⁷⁵ However, the story shows the processes in which the reversibility of the two roles played by the main characters depending on space and context, and their coexistence

⁵⁷³Ibid.

⁵⁷⁴Deleuze and Guattari define the first type of bifurcation as “relative deterritorialization” and call the second type “absolute deterritorialization.” Bonta and Protevi, *Deleuze and Geophilosophy*, 20. See also Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus*, 134, 508-510.

⁵⁷⁵Pang Zengyu’s study, *Heitudi wenhua yu dongbei zuojia qun* (The Culture of Black Soil and the Group of Northeast Writers), is a representative work that interprets Northeast literature in this way for the production of Chinese-centered knowledge. The author defines Northeast spirit and claims that it comprises unruliness and savageness or barbarity. Ibid., 100, 102. However, at a deeper level, it is directly connected to the construction of nationality and national identity through the production of knowledge and the formation of spatiality with cultural values. The author maintains that people who migrated to the Northeast inside China (originally, from Shandong primarily) were losers who were filtered out of their native society. Therefore, they had frontier spirit, displaying the excellence of the Chinese people like the *Kejia* and the overseas Chinese. Although he points out the duality of their characteristics, such as being modern and conservative or being advanced and backward, overall, their powerful and strong spirit of culture and resistance are inherited by contemporary Chinese writers and reflected in their works. Ibid., 237-241. Consequently, the production of the Northeast spirit and heritage contributes to the formation of Chinese nationality and affirms its continuity even in contemporary times. In so doing, a unified Chinese literary history is established and maintained through contrasts and configurations of spatiality and locality, and thus completes the picture of a Chinese mentality by virtue of the very production of Northeast culture.

are the basis for promoting new patterns of behavior in order not to homogenize culture and space.

The uniqueness of the text lies in its representations of spatiality and temporality that are not incorporated into national, capitalist, or modernist time, which are examined in Hyun Ok Park and Duara's studies on Manchuria.⁵⁷⁶ For Sun, Kang's labor is a commodity to be sold and exchanged: "[b]etter to sell your strength [labor, *liqi*, literally strength in Chinese], and become a farm laborer who takes the lead. This is real, you should come step by step."⁵⁷⁷ (24) Sun possesses a new plot of land on a mountain and wants to cultivate it, so he offers Kang a job and a place to stay at his house, which Kang ultimately declines. Sun's wealth and profit increase with the passage of time. By contrast, Kang's labor is not compensated in any form at all; conversely, its exchange value decreases over time. In this respect, Sun's increasing property and prosperity symbolize capitalist space and time in which capital is accumulated by the transformation of space through human labor. In opposition to this, the space where Kang tries to find ginseng is not valued by humans and stands as it is, uncultivated. Similarly, the period of time in which Kang fails to discover ginseng does not fit into any categories of time such as capitalist time, nationalist time, or modernist time. His travels do not yield any profit but his labor is consumed. Furthermore, the ginseng he discovers in the last minute of his life is taken by his

⁵⁷⁶Hyun Ok Park's study, *Two Dreams in One Bed*, particularly deals with national and capitalist time by reading An Su Kil's novel *Pukkando* (Northern Kando/ Northern Jiandao). The characters live the national time of Korea which is homogenous and continuous but cannot be sustained because of the unsettlement and ambiguity of their social life. "National time naturalizes capitalist time." Park, *Two Dreams in One Bed*, 40. They come to forge a new global consciousness and situate "local experience in a global process." Ibid., 42. The author views the temporality of Northern Kando as the juncture of the two times in the context of globalization promoted by capitalist regimes and capitalism. However, the meaning of global consciousness is not clear. The author states that "Koreans and Chinese are the same," proving global consciousness. Ibid., 32. I suspect that this term may contain multiple meanings in the realms of politics, economics, and social and cultural life. Duara discusses the creation of local time and locality as opposed to modernist time in his analysis of Shan Ding's *Green Valley*. Duara, *Sovereignty and Authenticity*, 209-244. In my view, capitalist time and modernist time are interrelated.

⁵⁷⁷The Guandong region was considered to be a bonanza for ginseng digger at the time. In this respect, Kang's choice is speculative, but his labor is never rewarded in the end.

fellow ginseng diggers, not by himself. Therefore, the capital acquired by his labor is not appropriated by the self but distributed to others, and the mode of production does not operate by social mechanisms of the production of profit.

As for Kang, the present time is the same as the past time, and the passage of time is only indicated by the cyclical changes of nature and does not develop as linear. For instance, “[h]e [Kang] comes to think that three years ago, [he] had seen the same scene; however, at that time it was the first thunderstorm at dusk in the late spring, whereas it was now the night of late winter.”(30) Seventeen years later, it is the narrator who describes the flow of time; Kang’s hometown friend also states it specifically: “Indeed, it has been twenty years.”(37) Duara’s analysis of Shan Ding’s *Lüse de gu* (Green Valley) also includes a similar notion of time. In *Green Valley*, “the primeval forest is governed by a natural, cyclical time outside linear history.”⁵⁷⁸ “This time of locality is directly opposed to the linear time of capitalist, urban modernity, and the novel tracks the corrosive and destructive power of the latter upon both the valley and the forest.”⁵⁷⁹ According to Duara, the construction of locality is related to the formation of identity and its development through identification with the object of the very locality created by the author.⁵⁸⁰ However, Kang’s own mode of time or his lack of time consciousness does not vie solely with the capitalist, modern mode of time. More significantly, Kang’s identity is not formed by identification with locality in order to construct spatiality as a source for shaping localized, community identity.

⁵⁷⁸Duara, *Sovereignty and Authenticity*, 229.

⁵⁷⁹*Ibid.*, 232.

⁵⁸⁰*Ibid.*, 220. Duara points out that this spatial identity and its relation to nation, civilization, or transnational region is neither given nor fixed, and it is questionable whether this novel is nationalistic. “It is hard to prove that the novel is overtly or covertly nationalist.” *Ibid.*, 227. However, the use of the trope of the mother in the novel and its meaning merit further study in conjunction with Chinese nationality, given its common symbolic nature. Furthermore, the representation of authenticity based on the construction of locality ultimately tends to involve the formation of a particular type of local identity. What is the relationship between the formation of local and national identity? The novel critiques the capitalist mode of production and the city as representative of modernity and depicts the class struggle. But how are local and national identities (in)separable from the formation of nation-states and from the state apparatus?

His existence as an outsider in Manchurian territory stands in its singularities and functions as a bifurcator. His power to move, his resistance to associating with family and the labor market, and his way of life reify deterritorialization from within a territory of China. However, Kang's fellows send his corpse back to his hometown, precluding the unexplored possibility of deterritorialization; his life story threatens to regress to relative deterritorialization through the social and cultural practice of returning to an individual's 'origin' and native place. Ironically, the territory Kang discarded is occupied by his dead body, which is at odds with his refusal to own any form of land.

Conclusion

Despite this ending, the story lays out the complexities of the processes in which relative and absolute deterritorialization occur; it presents the multiple social forces that are not mobilized to maintain the stability of space for domination through the formation of a particular type of identity attached to the region. In short, Kang's journey contains the moment of "absolute deterritorialization" that "prompts the release of a new set of attractors and bifurcators, new patterns and threshold."⁵⁸¹ Kang's migrancy marks that his life path cannot be reconciled with the dominant modes of social life and relations as exemplified by the woman's father and Sun's interracial and crosscultural matrimony. His existence and non-belonging status simultaneously embody the becoming with the untapped potential to transform social relations as an attractor and a bifurcator. Therefore, the novel sheds a fresh light on how to situate Manchuria in history, culture, and literature. The novel represents Manchuria's borderland characteristic, in which people shape and cross the

⁵⁸¹Bonta and Protevi, *Deleuze and Geophilosophy*, 23, 78.

borderlines of race and culture as well as physical territory.⁵⁸² In the literary imagination, Manchuria exists as an open space that is not regulated by nationalities. More importantly, by presenting the way in which the borderland experience can destabilize the construction of nationality, the novel opens up the possibility for creating a new space; migrancy can be a resource for the creation of spatial and temporal heterogeneity, which prevents a space from being homogenized, dominated, and destroyed.⁵⁸³

⁵⁸²Duara argues that this model does not fit Manchukuo in that Han Chinese are a dominant group. Duara, *Sovereignty and Authenticity*, 49. However, multiple races coexisted even in pre-modern times and the Japanese, Koreans, and Russians lived there. The meaning of the Korean term *Kando* for Manchuria implies an open space where borderlines can always be crossed; it literally means “an island in between,” and Koreans did cross the border depending on agricultural conditions. See Oh Yang Ho, *Hanguk munhak gwa Kandao* (Korean Literature and Kando (Jiandao)) (Seoul: Munye ch’ulp’ansa, 1988), 10.

⁵⁸³An Su Kil’s story “Wŏn’gach’ŏn” (A Buddhist Village) concerns the formation of a community based on religion in Kando and depicts a character who always moves without settling in order not belong to any community. Kim Yun Sik, ed., *An Su Kil* (Anthology of An Su Kil) (Seoul: Pŏkko, 1993). I think this text could be read with Luo Binji’s story, since in An Su Kil’s story, the protection of the protagonist’s wife from other men is the origin of the man’s desire and his main motive for traveling without belonging.

EPILOGUE

Continuing the discussion in previous chapters of the Russian diaspora and music and sound, the conclusion examines how Shen Shaomin (1956-)'s recent documentary film, *Woshi zhongguoren* (I am Chinese), represents Russian Chinese and hybrid cultures of their community in a small, remote village in Northeastern China.⁵⁸⁴ In conjunction with the topic on sound and music addressed in chapter five, the conclusion particularly concentrates on the characters' singing and its meaning to the performativity of their cultural and national identities and more. The film shows fragmentary yet vivid images, vibrant with color contrasts, of the grueling lives of the Russian Chinese, descendants of White Russians and the offspring of Russians and Chinese who were deracinated from their homeland and relocated to Manchuria, as well as of their unadorned and community-oriented daily life under abject living conditions in the village during winter. In this respect, the work is redolent of literary depictions of wretched Russians and racial hybrids and their marginality in Chinese society, and thus it appears to be a more dramatic filmic portrayal of the degradation of their social status and their downward mobility in contemporary China.

In addition to the main record of lives of the Russian Chinese, the director inserts two news clips into the film, one on the racial riots that occurred in France in 2005 and one on the ten North Koreans who crossed the border and were arrested and detained by Thai policemen but ultimately achieved refugee status. Shen notes in an interview that the choice to include the former was to suggest how a European people,

⁵⁸⁴I thank Paola Iovene for introducing this film as well as the book below for the conclusion. Although the film offers English translation of all the Chinese subtitles and dialogues, I have modified them partially or completely for clarification, and in some cases, I have retranslated them based on the Chinese subtitles and dialogues. Shen Shaomin is from Heilongjiang Province and states that people in the North were influenced by Russian culture. Shen Shaomin, *Tianren zhi ji* (Between Heaven and Earth, title translation in the original text), ed. Wu Hung (Beijing: Dangdai tangren yishu zhongxin, 2007), 25.

a white people, are living in the East and to convey his particular fascination with this subject.⁵⁸⁵ According to the interview, Shen's view on the issue of assimilation and the role of the Han in this process resonates prominently with the theme of Han centrality as depicted in "Hunxue'r" (A mixed-blood child) by Shi Jun. Shen states: "I think the culture of the Han has great capacity to assimilate [other] ethnicities into theirs. For example, I am Manchu, but it only remains in my family history (*jiazu lishi*, family genealogy). It seems that I no longer have any trace of the Manchu. I neither write the Manchu script and nor speak the Manchu language. I think when one ethnic group's script disappears, then this ethnic group [will] disappear. I am a Chinese."⁵⁸⁶

Rather than directly comment on his definition of an ethnicity and its most fundamental, constituting element, I first introduce Shen's motivation to produce this film and then address how the film presents the origin of Russian migration into China and what roles the black screens, which are interspersed through the film and are one of the film's salient formal aspects, play in its presentation. Although the director has chosen this film technique on purpose to transmit his intention and message to the audience,⁵⁸⁷ the meaning and function of the form, the black screen, is intricately related with opening remarks about how Russian Chinese came to settle in China. By exploring the relationship between the black screen and the presentation of information on geographical features and the racial constitution of the peoples in the region, I clarify the underlying structure of the narrative in its entirety and the dualistic nature and meaning of the deep structure of the black screen. Coupling my clarifications with the authoritative power of the omniscient narrator and Shen's

⁵⁸⁵He mentions that "[t]he news addresses the problems of foreign migration and of unfairness toward Asians. The news casts gave vent to their feelings against the French people. What I drew [from this example] is the very opposite of this, Europeans in China. These are all part of the problem of migration as well as of the mutual rejection of culture." Shen Shaomin, "Shen Shaomin: Jingtou yu zheren" (Shots and responsibility), interviewed by Paola Iovene, www.ionly.com.cn/nbo/news/info3/200810181/1413051.html, accessed on November 4, 2009.

⁵⁸⁶Shen, "Shen Shaomin."

⁵⁸⁷Shen, "Shen Shaomin."

pursuit of an outlandish subject matter, I go beyond the director's original schema for the film production to display multiple layers of the text. With the analysis of the characters' singing the national anthems, another verbal and vocal (re)presentation of the hybrid Russian Chinese culture, this conclusion creates an on-going dialogue on the significance of the Russian diaspora from the Manchukuo era to contemporary China and suggests how subaltern diasporic bodies produce their own versions of the national anthems and subvert the anthems' original intentionality to demarcate cultural and national boundaries through seemingly artless yet playful performativity of singing, replete with their fresh (re)imagination of national cultural sources and cultural and artistic creativity.

Shen's interest in this film subject first dates back to his travel to Australia years ago. He accidentally stumbled upon an elderly woman who had fled Harbin after the Cultural Revolution. She still cherished unforgettable memories of her childhood, and he was touched by her accounts. One day he went to Harbin and had a meal with friends. He learned about a Russian Chinese village in the Northeast and visited it. He took some photographs and interviewed some people. Afterwards, he was told that the Chinese government planned to transform this village into a tourist place because of the Russian Chinese's unique culture. He lamented the possible loss of the local culture, so he purchased film equipment and made this film.⁵⁸⁸ His statement about the production of the work sounds like a general description about the motivation for creating an art work commonly found in other artists. However, his choice of specific historical narratives, some images from external sources, the news clips, and the inclusion of certain people reveals how much this film was embroidered with them or vice versa, serving as a way to project his ideas about race, hybridity, and nationality onto the film and convey them. The introduction of the film is particularly worth

⁵⁸⁸Shen, "Shen Shaomin."

mentioning in terms of presentation of the history of Russian migration into China and the formation of a diasporic community, and it is worth comparing to other versions of it discussed in chapter one.

When Germany invaded Russia [the original Chinese word is *Sulian*, U.S.S.R., not *Eguo*; the English subtitle is also U.S.S.R., but I put ‘Russia’ here] during WWI (1914-1919), some Russian people who lived on the Chinese border were forced to cross the Heilongjiang river [the original Chinese subtitles do not specify the name of the river, but the English ones name it as such] and then migrated to Hongjiang village. Due to the war, these exiles were mostly women, the elderly, the weak, the sick, and the disabled. In the 1960s, China and the U.S.S.R. became enemies, and many refugees from the U.S.S.R. (*Sulian nanmin*) were despised and distrusted, so much so that they were suspected of being part of a ring of spies [for the U.S.S.R.]. As a result, the village where they lived was called a spy village for a time. These immigrants are still trying to integrate themselves into Chinese society at the present time; however, there is no way for them to be accepted by the Chinese up until now due to the problems of race, identity and status (*shenfen*), and intermarriage among close relatives [*jinqi tonghun*: the film translated this word as intermarriage, omitting *jinqi*], that is, consanguineous marriage.⁵⁸⁹

Above all, the introduction to the origin of the Russians’ settlement in China is quite misleading in the use of the names for the states for Russia. Since the U.S.S.R. was established in 1922, the accurate name for the state before this time is either *Eguo*, Russia, or the Russian Empire. The introduction also argues that Germany’s invasion into Russia functioned as a principal catalyst for the relocation of the Russians, and this view appears to be a new interpretation on the origin of the formation of the Russian diasporic community in China. None of the scholarly works cited in the previous chapters remark on this historical event as a major turning point for Russian immigration into China. On the one hand, this version of history adds a new source to the existing scholarship on the subject; on the other hand, however, it merely presents one of many versions of history. For those audience members unfamiliar with this part of Chinese history, the power of authoritative narration is such that it presents this

⁵⁸⁹Film introduction. I have retranslated it into English based on the Chinese subtitles.

version of the history as if it is conveying quasi-truthful and trustworthy information on the movement of the Russian Chinese population in the early nineteenth century. Consequently, this narrative voice-over does not give the audience a sense of how other people (educated urban Russian Chinese, for example) can also (re)present an extensive variety of types of stories.

Moreover, this definitive voice on the origin of the Russian migration into China is in tune with the verbal presentation of an outlandish mishmash of subject matter, such as race, consanguineous marriage, and a spy village. The film shows information on the location and geography of the village, along with numerically standardized knowledge of the space such as longitude, latitude, climate, temperature, and topographical features, but it also defines its spatial characteristics as a northern territorial border area in Heilongjiang Province which is conterminous with Russia. Just as the space is numerically measured out and presented in statistical form, the people living in the isolated, alien area are categorized and classified into one single unit, *Eresuzu*, Russian Chinese.

At the same time, however, the black screen also plays a crucial role in thematizing the director's particular intention to highlight the collective bleakness of Russian Chinese lives as a whole. Rather than rely on coherent storylines, the director captures shots of objects from diverse angles and then inserts a black screen which is in turn followed by the characters' dialogues. According to the director, he employs the technique of the black screen with great deliberation, and the black screen, its effect, and his editing technique are one of his overriding cinematic considerations in the process of filmmaking. He mentions that there were two reasons for selecting this method: one is that he did not want to conduct interviews with Russian Chinese directly, but he also needed to interpret their history and how they themselves thought about it; they were oppressed during the Cultural Revolution to such a degree that they

did not want to take any risks by talking about it. The director promised them that those shots would not be on public view.⁵⁹⁰ The black screen is a cogent way not only to represent the history of the Russian Chinese in Northeastern China, but also to protect them against any unwanted or unexpected repercussions in the future. With this method, Shen also provides viewers with cinematic and artistic opportunities to imagine their harrowing ordeal and the predicament of the positioning they have had to endure and their own self-positioning. In this respect, the black screen is a visual indicator of their dismal plight in a relocated country, thereby bringing an (in)direct indictment of the outer sociopolitical forces that pushed them into the hinterland.⁵⁹¹ It serves as an incisive condemnation of the shaded history through a simple and drab form, conversely and effectively conveying the director's thematic concerns and the Russian Chinese people's grave apprehension about their future, as well as the persuasive power of black images. Thus, this black, nondescript form embodies the murkiness of the Russian diaspora in China, as well as a pall of destitution, distress, and darkness that they had to have been forcibly plunged into.

More importantly, the black screens also manifest the control over points of view from a narrative standpoint. Factual knowledge of the local geography and people and the introduction to the film are all shown on the black screens, and thus their main function is to serve as background to the white subtitles. This background is a symbol of the Russian Chinese people's collective adversity and torment, as the director remarks. At the same time, however, the black screens represent the narratorial authoritative power that was imposed upon the Russian Chinese by the director or the omniscient narrator, who appears to offer and transmit scientific and factual knowledge of the people and space objectively. Thus, the film's perspective

⁵⁹⁰Shen, "Shen Shaomin."

⁵⁹¹One significant voice about Russian Chinese living in cities is completely silenced in this type of representations of them. When I visited Harbin, a head of a publishing company mentioned that he had a Russian Chinese friend living in Harbin, who was well educated.

toward the objects shown falters internally from the outset, particularly when visual representations of the spatiality of a remote village replete with bizarre yet grim spectacles work side by side with verbal representations noting the outlandishness of the film's objects and labels of them as Russian Chinese.⁵⁹² Moreover, the director in part imposes the dualistic nature embedded within the film at both the diegetic and metadiegetic levels through the characters' singing, another verbalization and presentation of their dislocated life that inevitably straddles China and the lost homeland of "Russia." Since their corporeal diasporic bodies are moored within the Chinese territory, however, their emotional belonging to and nostalgia for their homeland's culture are still floating across the borders in imaginative and creative fashion.

Right after the introduction to the film shown on the black screens with white subtitles, a female singing voice, doleful yet slightly fast in tempo, emanates from the black screen without showing an image of the singing subject. Then the camera captures her upper body and face in a medium close-up shot from the bottom. Viewers immediately notice that she sings the national anthem of the People's Republic of China, commonly known as "The March of the Volunteers."⁵⁹³ She sings the song, and its lyrics start with *qilai qilai qilai, jintian zhongguo renmin jidong, jintian jianli xinde changcheng, qilai qilai qilai, zhongguo renmingong [heguo]* (Rise up, rise up, rise up, today Chinese people are stirred and construct a new Great Wall, rise

⁵⁹²In fact, the film contains a number of appalling scenes of killing and dissecting poultry and fish, another example of presenting an outlandish subject matter. The director notes that Russian Chinese had nothing to do in the winter time, so killing and consuming food is one of the major events and means for living for them. Shen, "Shen Shaomin."

⁵⁹³Tian Han wrote the lyrics and Nie Er composed the song around 1934-1935. Sue M.C. Tuohy's article, "Reflexive Cinema: Reflecting on and Representing the Worlds of Chinese Film and Music," addresses how the figure Nie Er and the national anthem, together with Tian Han, were represented in the films *Nie Er* (1959) and *Guoge (National Anthem)*, 1998) in their relation to foreign music intertextually and contextually. For a more detailed discussion, see Sue M.C. Tuohy, "Reflexive Cinema: Reflecting on and Representing the Worlds of Chinese Film and Music," in *Global Soundtracks: Worlds of Film Music*, ed. Mark Slobin (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 2008), 195-200.

up, rise up, rise up, the P.R.C. . . . ; my translation.) What strikes the viewers the most is that the singer's limp voice appears to drift into the air aimlessly, just like her unfocused eyes staring unblinkingly into the air, while her blue eyeballs move very slightly from left to right and back again only a couple of times. She sings it in a plumbing and plaintive voice, the very opposite of how it is supposed to sound, completely lacking enthusiasm, as if she were instead floundering through her performance and squirming under the gazes of the camera and viewers. Moreover, the lyrics and rhythm of the song in some parts sound muddled and overtly inaccurate in comparison to the original national anthem, leading to loss of clarity such that parts of her singing are hardly discernable or understandable.

At the surface level, her singing performance, at least at first, can be seen as inadvertent blasphemy against the cultural integrity of the Chinese nationality from the Chinese perspective. Falling far short of meeting basic yet essential elements for claiming Chinese nationality, her imperfect singing underscores her lack of authenticity and the cultural competence that are integral to acquiring national culture or claiming more "authentic" Chinese nationality. However, for her part, the national anthem of the P.R.C. does not serve as a definite cultural source to demonstrate her Chinese nationality; though it is not articulated well in artistic terms and sounds like a shoddy, derivative detritus of the original song, it emerges as a *sui generis* song from her own soul with its own flair. The cultural source, designed with the intent of giving nationals its national meaning, is not pulled solely into a single specific purpose, but it takes on a new form and imparts emotional pathos to the individual in the course of the singing. In this respect, the singer's way of discounting the meaning of the national cultural source reveals how an individual can perform her personal, cultural, and national identities in her own creative terms, refusing closed form and meaning attached to the original cultural text, thereby expressing a spiritual dimension of utter

desolation of life. Singing, for her, is not entirely appropriated to confirm what the official national narrative says it should be for, but rather, it becomes a personal cultural channel through which to express and project her feelings of abjection and lugubriousness over a bleak life experienced as a descendant of exiles. In this case, form, melody, lyrics, and the song as a whole function as a mold that a singer's improvisation and facial expressions full of shades of abysmal sorrow and distress piled up over a long time can be used to express inner feelings, so that the contents of the mold, her improvisation and facial expressions, yield up the new meaning of the mold, the national anthem, and the mold no longer conforms to the standardized. Since it conveys her own deep emotions and spiritual resonance, when coupled with her haggard and emaciated face, the song generates a new form and meaning. To her, singing is a meaningful medium to revitalize a dejected life through emotional fulfillment, no matter how imperfect and inauthentic the song produced is, and it ultimately induces psychic healing. In this light, singing itself embodies a process of living and serves as one of the cultural living grounds that can give her daily comfort and spiritual solace and that she can subsist on.

In contrast but parallel to the female solo singing the national anthem of the P.R.C., another singing scene unfolds; three male figures sing the national anthem of the U.S.S.R. in Chinese in a vigorous and elated manner. A Russian Chinese man bedecks himself in red attire that looks like an army uniform, and another man helps him hang yellow tassels from his right shoulder, as if trying to perk up the rather shabby suit with them. When the uniformed man utters the word "Katyusha," the title of a Russian folk song, the man who helps him with the tassels asks him to sing a military song suitable to the uniform and then he hums a tune. But the uniformed man suggests they sing "the song of four radishes" (*sige luobo*), which turns out to be the national anthem of the U.S.S.R., a fact that he himself declares shortly afterwards.

Once he starts to sing it, the two immediately squabble over a few measures of the song's lyrics and melody. *sige luobo duobo duobo, meiyou de huajiao, jiu daoliu, daoyidian er chu, jiu suanle, ba ni jiu he le ba* (Four radishes, chop them, chop them. If there are no spices, then it does not make sense. Pour a little bit of vinegar into them and they get sour and then you drink them; my translation.) The second man agrees on the first line of the lyrics, *sige luobo duobo duobo*, but argues that its rhythm is a bit slower than that of the first version and it has more variations in pitch. And then he proposes a completely different version for the rest in both lyrics and melody. But the uniformed man opposes this and tells him that “you should not insult the national anthem of the U.S.S.R.” Thus, the uniformed man goes back to his first version.

Audience members knowing the original anthem and reading the subtitles can easily discern that the lyrics of the song are inaccurate in Chinese. Even if the men claim they sang the national anthem of the U.S.S.R., in fact, they improvised everything: the title, lyrics, melodies, rhythm, and so forth. The song sounds as if they are trying a spoof on it, but the uniformed man attempts to connect them to the cultural and national heritage of the U.S.S.R., a great nation (*weida de minzu*) as he defines it. He also redefines the song as “our folk song” (*zanmen de minge*). The whole series of the singing and arguing can be viewed as parody in a broad sense, for their singing is drawing from an existing original song to which they add jocular tunes and lyrics, creating a completely new version with the comic elements. Wes D. Gehring recapitulates the seven principal traits of parody in filmmaking and succinctly differentiates it from satire. He notes: “Spoofing has affectionate fun at the expense of a given form or structure; satire more aggressively attacks the flaws and follies of mankind (and dark comedy—beyond satire—only hopes to steal an occasional laugh before *the end*) [*italics in the original text*].”⁵⁹⁴ Put another way, the essential

⁵⁹⁴Wes D. Gehring, *Parody as Film Genre: “Never Give a Saga an Even Break”* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1999), 5.

difference between parody and satire lies in the purpose of the attack: the former attacks the form or structure of the given objects, while the latter attacks society or social issues. In addition, self-consciousness is another important factor in the use of parody; that is, filmmakers/performers are all fully aware of preexisting forms and genres, from which they drive references.⁵⁹⁵

Gehring's rigid differentiation between parody and satire has problematic elements, given the interchangeability of the two in their expressions of form and content. Thus, rather than simply borrowing this kind of theorization of parody, I would like to extrapolate the meaning of their singing in terms of making, maintaining, blurring, or surpassing boundaries. Their singing springs from their gleeful comic flair and expresses the comical convergence of their creative musicality, energetic sound, and bouncy tunes. Thus, the singers creatively generate their own songs, thereby completely disregarding the intention of the production of the original song, to edify people about the national and cultural ethos. In this respect, just like the woman's singing the national anthem of the People's Republic of China, their shifting singing performance and arguments about the lyrics and melodies bespeak the indefinite plasticity of the cultural sources that are open, unsettled, even reconstructed and rejuvenated by the performers, hinging on how they employ them creatively and humorously. As a result, it does not serve to fulfill the initial purpose of marking and maintaining the boundaries of the nation and its culture's paramount embodiment of its integrated essence. Moreover, despite the singer's (re)naming of the song as the folksong or the national anthem, the new version takes on not only a new form, but also yields a new meaning, an area of ambiguity associated with carnivalesque playfulness and communal festivity, followed by the humor of the song and its comical effects on the performers and the audience.

⁵⁹⁵Gehring, *Parody as Film Genre*, 16.

This comical moment full of dietary imagination further blurs the boundaries between eating and drinking, since adding vinegar to radishes renders the dish drinkable, into a liquid state, thereby evoking a Dionysian image alongside the food. In fact, the film displays scenes of townspeople gathering; they, including the three men, go on a binge after a funeral, another example of their communal life and amiable nature. Although the film is not a comedy, the scene specifically exemplifies how comedy functions in present time, a role that was taken by carnival and festivity in the past. Andrew Horton notes that the domain of comedy is similar to that of traditional carnival and festivity in the sense that the former represents time periods when societal rules and regulations are temporarily suspended. It is marked by the liminality between people's pursuit for freedom and a society's rules to bridle it. He states that "[a] work that is identified in any way as comic automatically predisposes its audience to enter a state of liminality where the everyday is turned upside down and where cause and effect can be triumphed over and manipulated. Comedy thus can be partially described as a playful realm of consecrated freedom."⁵⁹⁶

The film thus shows that the liminality of Russians during the Manchukuo period, legally excluded but visually included, can be transformed into a liminality of joyful playfulness in a forlorn social reality. The original national anthem of the U.S.S.R., which has nothing to do with food, is metamorphosed into an edible and potable object, whose state is characterized as liquidity and fluidity, as opposed to the closed fixity of the original that is identified and essentialized. The comic laughter as a sign of *bonhomie* incurred by the adaptation or re-creation of the original becomes an open repository of ambiguity and facetious playfulness on multivalent levels of lyrics, melodies, and rhythms, and tones that lead viewers to dwell on the differences between the original and its new version, together with the significance of hewing out

⁵⁹⁶ Andrew Horton, *Comedy/Cinema/Theory* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 5.

a new butt for ridicule and a nepenthean instrument for the singers and the viewers. This is what Bakhtin valued the most in carnivalesque laughter. Horton notes: “In carnival, therefore, ambiguity itself becomes a virtue, a form of freedom from limitation, dogma, didacticism. Such polyphony is for Bakhtin at the heart of carnival because it means that under the spell of the carnivalesque, the potential for surprise and delight is never lost.”⁵⁹⁷

The singers’ facetious playfulness with the national anthem of the U.S.S.R. indicates how singing based on parody and the comic can destabilize the existing national boundaries and deconstruct social mechanisms which produce racial and national barriers. Just like the national anthem of China functions as a mold whose form and content are all malleable and adaptable by the woman, the national anthem of the U.S.S.R. functions as a signifier devoid of definite signification that singers can (re)fill freshly and boundlessly with their own creative imagination, creating impromptu performances whenever possible. Thus, to fulfill their particular needs, the singers can reutilize and reinvigorate the cultural heritage designed to put them into a defined and categorical status. In this respect, the filmic representations of the Russian diaspora in contemporary China illuminate how the subaltern can subversively restructure cultural and national paragons and perform them in defamiliarized yet delightful ways. For the Russian Chinese, they do not serve to either demarcate boundaries or maintain them in ways that would be prone toward categorized mapping that gives rise to blockage among peoples. Moreover, their singing, with either soulful expression or ludicrous flair, indicates how they can articulate their feelings and playfulness in their own creative ways by playing with the essential national culture. In the process, their singing voices bring forward the subaltern’s cultural creativity and

⁵⁹⁷Andrew Horton, “The Mouse Who Wanted to F-k a Cow: Cinematic Carnival Laughter in Dusan Makavejev’s Films,” in *Comedy/Cinema/Theory* ed. Andrew Horton (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 229.

performativity that can imbue their performances with more emotional and personal resonance and a shared, communal vivacity which mitigates their harsh social reality where becoming Chinese and being accepted as “authentic” Chinese are not likely to happen.

In sum, representations of the Russian diaspora from the Manchukuo era and contemporary China both challenge social mechanisms and reasoning that (re)produce racial and national boundaries and suggest counter-discourses and particular narrative modes in literature and film that reject such hierarchical racial and social formations. In addition, literary and filmic representations of “non-colonizers” inscribe creative artistic moments that alert readers to the problematic positioning of others by the “colonized” majority within themselves, regardless of the existing nationalities and racial and cultural backgrounds, as well as alert them to the others’ responses to their appropriations of these forms. In this, writers, directors, cultural agents, and performers have implicated and carved out fresh and vital modes of representations that are less charged with hierarchical racial ordering, mapping, and fixation. Thus, the significance and value of representations of hybridity reside in technological, artistic, and cultural creativity and performativity that overturn the existing order of things and peoples and further convert markings of boundaries and social reasoning into a rich and affecting terrain for reconsidering their hierarchical social constructions.

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